

**Air Force Officers
Personnel Policy Development
1944-1974**

Vance O. Mitchell

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To Barbara

Air Force Officers
Personnel Policy Development
1944-1974

Foreword

The many histories dealing with the United States Air Force have most often dealt with aerial campaigns, strategy, tactics, and air battles won or lost. More precisely, the central position has been occupied by the airplane, the dominant symbol of all air forces and the probably most visually arresting weapon of war of this century. When it came to people, the other half of the Air Force equation, famous generals and the exploits of popular heroes have been written about, but examinations of the forces that shaped the rank-and-file have been largely overlooked. Even military sociology, a relatively new discipline dedicated to understanding military services worldwide, has dealt overwhelmingly with the Army experience.

In this, his first book, Vance O. Mitchell examines this relatively unknown part of the Air Force experience by looking, over a period of thirty years, at the personnel policies that shaped the officer corps in the grades of colonel and below. In taking 1944 as his departure point, he catches land-based American air power on the verge of achieving the status of an independent service. It also turned out to be the beginning of the most protracted period of personnel turbulence in American military history.

The personnel planners of the late 1940s had to address the implications of Morris Janowitz's famous dictum that modern officer corps must include "heroic leaders, military managers, and military technologists." For the Air Force, that meant the end of an officer corps of virtually all pilots and the integration of all skills needed to lead and manage a modern, complex air force. Further, external pressure and internal considerations meant that future officers would also include women and racial minorities, and not be exclusively the domain of white males. Other issues included promotion by merit instead of seniority, centralized personnel management, adjusting the rank structure, and use of Reserve components.

Whatever might have been the ramifications of these early policy decisions was mooted in the early 1950s by the intensification of the Cold War and the rise of the large standing military. The author traces the major personnel issues—procurement, flight pay, promotions, training, and retirement—as the Air Force tried to cobble together a personnel system in a new and contradictory era. Adequately addressing these issues was made even more difficult because neither previous peacetime policies or traditional wartime expedients offered

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adequate answers, since, for most of the period, the nation was neither at war nor truly at peace. As he amply demonstrates, the policies of the period reflect a mixture of compromise, ingenuity, innovation, and, in the case of temporary promotions, near desperation. If one had to choose the issue that most severely taxed the personnel system, it would be the presence of large numbers of Reserve officers on active duty during peacetime, a condition not adequately provided for in either public law or internal Air Force policies.

In the last section of the book, Mitchell examines important issues that, while always present, were either not the results of straightforward policy decisions or were largely ignored for most of the period. These issues were career patterns and what he calls three types of integration: race, gender, and skills. In analyzing the types of integration, he illustrates the limitations inherent when revolutionary change takes place within a conservative organization.

This book has value to a diverse audience. Personnel planners from any of the American military services can gain insights into the problems of fashioning large numbers of individuals into a cohesive and responsive body, and military sociologists will find the work useful in expanding their frame of reference beyond the Army experience. Finally, Dr. Mitchell has returned to the Air Force an important portion of its heritage, the history of its first generation of officers.

RICHARD P. HALLION
Air Force Historian

Acknowledgments

Although this book is something of a labor of love, since it traces the policies that shaped a corps of individuals within which I served for almost thirty years, I could not have completed it without the guidance and counsel of a large number of individuals. In listing those who extended a helping hand, it is my desire that they share only in the positive things that might accrue from this manuscript; any shortcomings are my responsibility entirely.

To begin with, Professors Van Perkins, Sarah Stage, and Irwin Wall of the University of California, Riverside, read and commented on those portions of the manuscript that served as my dissertation. Although not military historians, these scholars offered criticisms that significantly improved the book that finally emerged.

Within the office of Air Force History, where this book was written, the support and encouragement never faltered. To list the instances where individuals offered help when I needed it would produce a volume just in itself. On the management side, Col. John F. Shiner, Col. David Tretler, William Heimdahl, and Sheldon Goldberg handled the paperwork that made the archival materials available and kept me on active duty until my work was complete. Colleagues who read and commented on draft chapters include Colonel Shiner, Dr. Daniel Mortensen, Dr. B. F. Cooling, Jacob Neufeld, Dr. Rebecca Cameron, Maj. John Kreis, Maj. William Borgias, Capt. Kenneth Schaffel, Bernard Nalty, Dr. George Watson, and Dr. Eduard Mark.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Richard H. Kohn, former Chief of the Office of Air Force History, for reasons too numerous to list, but most of all because he gave me a great gift, the opportunity to work with, for, and among scholarly, intelligent people. The illustration on the cover and dustjacket is an original painting by Nilo Santiago, a visual information specialist in the Media Services Flight, 11th Communication Squadron. And I must not forget those whose contributions were in a more personal context: Catherine and Robert, who perhaps know too little about their father's professional life, and the one to whom this book is dedicated.

The Author

Vance O. Mitchell is a retired Air Force officer whose varied experience includes airborne reconnaissance, strategic airlift, special operations, and seven years as an Air Force historian. He also served as an executive officer, resource manager, and major air command operations staff officer. He holds a doctoral degree in American History from the University of California, Riverside. Dr. Mitchell resides in Fairfax, Virginia, with his wife Barbara. This is his first book.

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Air Force Officers
Personnel Policy Development
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Introduction

This is a historical study of the personnel policies of the United States Air Force as it attempted to develop and maintain a viable officer corps in some of the most turbulent times in American military history. The thirty-year period covered, 1944–1974, constituted a full military career for most officers, making this a history of the first generation of officers of the independent Air Force. Certainly, this was the most important generation in Air Force history in terms of the ground-breaking decisions made and the lasting imprint these decisions left for future generations.

This study considers officer personnel policy decisions, why they were made, how they were implemented, and how they fit into the larger context of the times. It is not a work of military sociology, although that discipline did provide important insights into broader military issues and the values common to most high-ranking military officers. Neither is this a study of famous generals or battles won and lost. Indeed, the focus is almost entirely on the ranks from colonel down rather than from colonel up. This was the rank and file that the Air Force had to nourish if a viable officer corps was to develop and provide the generals who would win or lose the battles.

In 1926, seventeen years after it had purchased its first aircraft, the United States Army recognized flying as a military specialty. In accordance with the Army's policy toward specialties, aviation gained the status of a corps, and coequal status with the other and older corps such as Engineers and Ordnance. Thus was born the Army Air Corps, the main repository of the nation's land-based air power. Virtually all of the officers in the new corps, which never numbered much over three thousand, were pilots, understandably so since the mission was to fly aircraft. With few exceptions, the additional skills needed to support the flying mission were furnished by other Army corps. For example, the Ordnance Corps furnished personnel to load bombs, the Signal Corps handled communications, and so on.

The Army Air Forces (AAF), created in June 1941, gained equal status with the Army Ground Forces and Army Service Forces in March 1942, ending the awkward arrangement that had denied the Chief of the Air Corps direct authority over certain of his corps' functions. However, the heart of the AAF remained the Air Corps, whose officers were still almost entirely pilots. This was the officer corps, still numbering only about three thousand Regular

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officers at the end of World War II, with which the AAF began planning for a future that included becoming a separate military service, the United States Air Force.

High-ranking officers generally agreed about the major changes needed for the AAF to meet the personnel demands of future officers. First, the ranks must be opened to every skill needed, flying or nonflying, since an independent service could not rely on the Army to supply officers in support areas. Second, the corps system, which furnished the internal structure of the Army, was judged to be too unwieldy and inefficient. Career fields that grouped similar skills would house the many specialties and provide the internal structure for the Air Force personnel system. Career fields were unlike corps because they were for management purposes only and did not have the autonomy and power associated with the Army corps system. All the key elements—such as procuring new officers, promotions, assignments, career development, and retirements—were centrally managed regardless of career field. Further, virtually all officers were in a single administrative body, the Officers of the Line of the Air Force, where they competed against each other for promotions.

At the same time that the basic structure of the officer corps evolved, other decisions, more of sociological than numerical significance, opened the door to two groups not found in the prewar Air Corps. The World War II experience had shown that women could perform vital functions in a modern Air Force. Consequently, a very small number were included in the Air Force structure in 1948 with the establishment of the Women in the Air Force (WAF).

Similarly, World War II had demonstrated that racially segregating blacks into separate units did not work; indeed, segregation had been counterproductive to mission accomplishment and would likely continue to be so in the future. After a period of indecision that lasted until early 1949, the Air Force, along with the rest of the military establishment, began racial integration. Hurried along by the Korean War, the Air Force had racially integrated itself by 1952.

With these basic decisions—an officer corps with widely diverse skills, career fields instead of corps, racial and gender integration, and centralized management—the Air Force laid the foundation for an officer personnel system that was still in place in 1974. Otherwise, much of the planning in the period immediately after World War II was rather traditional in that it focused on meeting the traditional needs of a peacetime military. This planning took most of its cues from the previous American military experience. The officer corps would be relatively small (not over forty thousand); only Regular officers would figure prominently; and the permanent grade system, which was normally used in peacetime and was largely based on time in service, would be the basis for the rank structure.

Other, and less traditional, policy decisions before the Korean War included “shoe horn” the officer structure—suffering from a glut of first lieutenants left over from the war—into the confines of the Officer Personnel Act (OPA)

Introduction

of 1947, the Congressional statute that governed Regular officer matters; getting procurement programs off the ground; establishing procedures that gave officers a degree of control over their careers; and dealing with force reductions. Some changes inevitably produced negative reactions and disagreements. The right of nonpilots to command, racial policies, officer career development procedures, centralized management, and even career fields were called into question at one time or another.

Much of the postwar officer personnel planning, which mixed new and traditional policies, was soon subordinated to other demands as war erupted in Korea and the entire American military establishment broke precedent with the past. Unlike previous conflicts, the United States did not demobilize the military after Korea. The Air Force officer corps numbered over one hundred thousand at war's end and, other than a few relatively minor adjustments, remained that size while the service continued to grow until 1957. The era of the large peacetime military had arrived.

After 1950, between 40 and 80 percent of the active duty officers were Reservists whose extended presence on active duty in peacetime was not provided for either in legal statutes or in the programs of the service. Yet they were absolutely essential to a service whose authorized Regular officer strength was far from sufficient. The dilemma posed by the active duty Reserve officers endured for almost three decades.

Elsewhere, the officer personnel system had to deal with issues that ranged from minor irritants to those that threatened the stability of the officer corps. The irritants included inadequate means of dealing with substandard officers, which Reservists to let go during force reductions, and the chronic problems associated with procuring and training young officers in numbers previously unheard of in peacetime. More serious issues included a grossly inadequate, almost jury-rigged, temporary promotion system; retaining sufficient numbers of qualified officers beyond their minimum active duty obligations; and struggling to protect and preserve a rated force in the face of Congressional displeasure over costs. Underpinning most of these problems was the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, the statute that governed the officer corps through 1979, but already obsolescent by the end of the Korean War. Not until the 1960s, and after a decade of experience in dealing with these problems, would the military and Congress begin seeking long-term solutions rather than relying on a patchwork of temporary expedients hastily cobbled together every few years as the need arose.

The last part of the book deals with three overarching issues that could best be discussed topically over the entire period, rather than chronologically. The first, the issue of professionalism as it was shaped by the needs of the Air Force, developed subtly over time. The Air Force needed both specialists, who performed solely in a single job or in a narrow range of jobs, and generalists, whose broader experiences and correspondingly broader vision best qualified

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them for positions of high responsibility. Examination of senior staff and command positions showed that the requirements for generalists in those positions changed dramatically in the quarter century after World War II.

With the second issue, integration of gender and race, the problems had as much significance sociologically as militarily, since, for most of the period, the combined total of women and black officers was less than 2 percent of the total officer corps. The chapter will suggest that the initial incorporation of the two groups into the service in the late 1940s had only limited goals. These goals were largely achieved, but the resulting structures could not withstand the challenges posed by the social pressures of the 1960s and the changing needs of the Air Force. Only in the 1960s were additional steps taken to more fully integrate both groups into the service's fabric and to address a broader range of issues inherent to racial minorities and women in uniform.

The last chapter tracks the events that resulted from the opening of the officer corps to the full range of skills needed by a modern Air Force, a major personnel decision made soon after World War II ended. The problem over the long term was not the incorporation of officers with diverse skills, but allowing them to contribute fully to the mission. This did not simply mean having them do their duty, but also in offering challenging careers and growth opportunities as well—a problem for a military service overwhelmingly dominated by pilots. For reasons both good and bad, that domination continued largely unchanged through the period of this study, but at a cost in terms of morale and retention in the officer corps as a whole.

Thus, the raw material for this book was not airplanes or other weapons of war, but people, which are far more demanding and difficult to deal with than weapons or machines. Airplanes responded to human touch in largely predictable ways and without value judgments. Not so with human beings, who were emotional, exercised value judgments, weighed options, took offense, reacted to outside influences, and made demands of their own. This added dimension, the human factor, seemed in many cases to have made personnel policy development a continual reaction to ever shifting influences over which the service had little control. Certainly it taxed the ability of the Air Force, perhaps the most technologically driven of the military services, to effectively manage. The late Maj. Gen. Haywood S. Hansell clearly had that in mind when, in a conversation with the author, he voiced what might be taken as a terse, but accurate, summary for the period: "You know, we always did better with airplanes than we did with people."

Part One

Revolutionary Changes and Traditional Planning 1944-1953

In 1943, the Army Air Forces began to plan for both the end of World War II and the establishment of an independent Air Force. In what was undoubtedly the most dynamic period in Air Force history, a wide range of officer issues were examined, with radical changes implemented in some cases. Much of the Army's legacy was cast off as senior officers and their staffs pushed ahead with programs that would serve the needs of a modern military service devoted entirely to air power.

Yet, at the same time, the programs implemented attempted to hew to previous American history when the peacetime military was small and relatively isolated from the mainstream. This historical perspective placed certain limitations on the emerging Air Force officer corps structure that went well beyond mere numbers, and this mixture of revolutionary and traditional endured until the end of the Korean War.

Chapter One

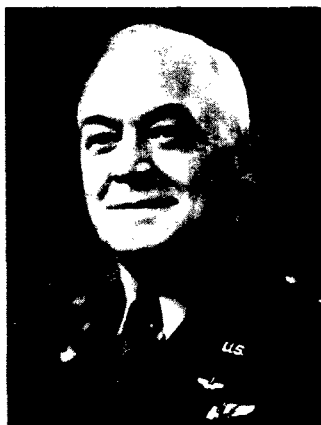
Initial Planning for a Postwar Officer Corps 1944-1945

Even though air power ultimately emerged as a major component of the American military arsenal during World War II, in mid-1939, on the eve of the military buildup for the war, American land-based air power was confined to the United States Army Air Corps. The Air Corps of the 1930s was a small combat arm of about twenty-five thousand personnel equipped with mostly obsolescent aircraft and administered under an awkward arrangement that placed training and supply under one office and operations under another. In March 1942, all responsibilities were combined under the Commanding General, Army Air Forces, a change that gave the air arm both greater autonomy and coequal status with the Army Ground Forces and the Army Service Forces. By 1944, the AAF had grown to 2.4 million personnel equipped with nearly eighty thousand first-line aircraft capable of carrying the war directly into the enemy's heartland.¹

For the first two years of the war, the demand for sheer numbers of men needed to fight a global war drove manpower considerations. By early 1944, however, the number of AAF personnel had reached its wartime maximum, and attention began to turn to other personnel matters, including some tentative planning for the postwar era. One of the more obvious problem areas was the narrow range of skills displayed by the Regular officer corps.

Since modern aerial warfare had become complex, it demanded a correspondingly complex mix of skills beyond those necessary to fly an airplane. The skill spectrum of AAF officers spanned 275 specialties, 92 percent of all AAF personnel required some technical training, and a routine bombing mission required over 500 separate specialties ranging from pilots to clerk-typists to support it. Yet a survey of the Regular officers of the AAF, the only officers who had made a career commitment to military service, showed a near total lack of any expertise other than piloting.² Moreover, there were no programs to attract and hold officers other than pilots once hostilities ceased.

Air Force Officers



General of the Army Henry H. Arnold,
Commanding General of the Army Air
Forces, 1942–1946.

The problem was rooted in the prewar period. Under the provisions of the Army Reorganization Act of 1920 and the National Defense Act of 1926, all Air Corps general officers, the commanders of all flying units, and at least 90 percent of all other Regular officers had to be rated pilots.* With an officer cadre consisting almost exclusively of pilots and numbers kept at a level sufficient only to meet flying requirements, the careers of Air Corps officers centered on flying airplanes. The many functions corollary to flying, such as munitions, administration, and finance, became the duties of officers detailed from the Army corps† that specialized in those functions or occasionally of pilots as secondary duties. Thus supported, and limited, the Air Corps could not develop officers skilled in the corollary functions necessary to maintain a modern military establishment. A few broke out of the “flying-only” mold, but as a senior AAF officer noted, “that was more by accident than by design.”³

The inadequate distribution of officer skills became apparent in 1941 when the United States entered the war and the AAF faced the demands of modern warfare. Among the early casualties were the statutes requiring that 90 percent of the officers be pilots. In 1942, those statutes were suspended for the duration of hostilities as the AAF opened new commissioning programs and expanded existing ones to meet officer manpower needs. The Aviation Cadet Program, the largest of the commissioning programs, met the need for all types of rated officers by testing over a million young men, with over six hundred thousand entering into training, and perhaps three hundred thousand leaving as fliers by early 1945. Other officers came from three additional sources. The Officer

* Rated officers, mostly pilots, served as crew members on airplanes while nonrated officers performed ground duties.

† Throughout this volume, corps will refer to the Army's system of grouping specialties and functions, such as the Ordnance Corps or the Finance Corps, not to the tactical units, such as V Corps.

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Candidate School (OCS) trained and commissioned some fifty-two thousand nonrated officers, such as adjutants, administrators, and personnel officers. The Officer Training School (OTS) provided six weeks of rudimentary military training to about thirteen thousand personnel, with chaplains, doctors, lawyers, accountants, and airline pilots commissioned to perform the same duties they had in civilian life. Finally, the other Army branches continued to furnish officers for such functions as munitions, medicine, and supply. Known as ASWAAF (Arms and Services with the Army Air Forces) officers, they numbered some fifty thousand by 1945, about 13 percent of the AAF total. The OCS, OTS, and ASWAAF officers carried on the nonflying business of the force, and their services would be needed in the postwar era, especially after the AAF became an independent service and could no longer count on support from the other Army corps.⁴

General Arnold Confronts the Problem

In 1944, the conflict between the need for an officer corps with wide-ranging skills and the limited spectrum of the AAF's Regular force caught the attention of Gen. Henry H. Arnold, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces. Although he undoubtedly knew of the necessity for varied officer skills, Arnold's main concern centered on the future role of technicians, scientists, and engineers in uniform. He believed that a mastery of technology was essential if the AAF was to hold its place as the premier air force in the world. Arnold, who learned to fly from the Wright Brothers in 1911, had watched the airplane grow from a fragile, fabric-covered machine to a powerful, all-metal vehicle by the time he assumed command of the Air Corps in 1938. During his tenure through 1946 as head of the Army's air arm, the impact of technology grew even more pronounced, both in the speed with which aviation technology advanced and the equal speed with which aircraft types became obsolete. This was particularly true in wartime when necessity spawned the requirement for new and ever more powerful aircraft, and technological advances repeatedly broke down the barriers to producing those very aircraft. Under the pressure of wartime requirements, the B-29 "Superfortress" went from the drawing board in 1940, to flight testing in 1942, to operational status in 1944.^{*5}

Looking ahead, Arnold speculated on future wars in a lengthy memo to Dr. Theodore Von Karman, Director of the AAF's Scientific Advisory Group. The general acknowledged the traditional American distaste for high wartime casualties and large standing armies, but he believed that the country must be

* The difficulties experienced by the B-29 during development and production were severe enough to have closed down the assembly line had not the nation been in a world war.

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prepared to face potential enemies in the future. The only recourse, in Arnold's view, was for the American military to maintain a technological superiority that would offset the small size of the peacetime establishment and reduce the numbers of men the nation must expose to hostile fire in wartime. Although the United States stood in the forefront of air power, he saw danger in a nation lulled into complacency by victory and the vast quantities of impressive, but technologically obsolete, military equipment sure to be on hand at war's end. The AAF must forge ahead with the development of weapons that were truly state of the art.⁶

The problems immediately became apparent in 1944 when Arnold turned to the specifics of staffing the postwar AAF and possibly an independent Air Force, the latter a goal that Arnold had pursued for most of the war. The officer corps of the AAF, which would form the nucleus of the postwar leadership, consisted of about three thousand Regular officers, virtually all pilots; perhaps ten thousand officers with Reserve and National Guard commissions; and over three hundred sixty thousand temporary officers.* The Reserve, National Guard, and temporary officers, however, would surely return *en masse* to civilian life after the war unless offered an attractive military career and a commission that would allow them to stay, actions that would require an enormous amount of planning. Increasing the size of the Regular force and allowing the incorporation of officers other than pilots would require legislation, but as long as the war commanded the attention and energy of the military establishment, not much would be accomplished in either planning or legislative action.

Despite the odds against him, Arnold made two attempts to begin restructuring the officer corps before the end of 1944. First, he approached the War Department with a formal request that the Air Corps be allowed to immediately increase the size of its Regular officer force from three thousand to seven thousand. The War Department denied the request, probably because it was reluctant, understandably so, to risk annoying Congress with such peripheral matters while hostilities still raged.⁷ In December, Arnold took his second initiative, one of institutional rather than numerical significance. Under the existing policy, no graduate of the United States Military Academy could hold an Air Corps or AAF commission without first completing pilot training. Those eliminated from flight training were assigned to other branches of the Army. However, with the need for nonrated officers becoming a reality, Arnold sought approval to commission into the AAF as Regular officers a small number of technologically oriented West Point graduates who did not qualify for pilot training. Possibly because it meant upsetting the system for allocating West Pointers during wartime, no action was taken on the matter, the initiative faded

* Temporary officers did not have Reserve or National Guard status. Temporary commissions were automatically voided six months after the cessation of hostilities, releasing the holders of such commissions from any further military obligations.

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quietly away, and no West Pointer entered the AAF as a nonrated officer until 1947.⁸

Perhaps discouraged by the lack of support, Arnold turned his efforts toward preparing the AAF for the necessary changes. When the federal government and the military establishment were ready to deal with officer personnel matters, the AAF would at least have some basic guidance. During a staff meeting on January 12, 1945, Arnold offered his vision of the war of the future in which the United States would be attacked by pilotless aircraft and would, in turn, defend itself and attack the enemy with similar machines.⁹ Turning to officer personnel policies, he pointed out the basic changes necessary to meet the demands of future wars. He warned:

The AAF must give more thought to technological developments in planning its future activities. The phase during which exclusive pilot management was essential is drawing to a close. . . . Regulations limiting the responsibilities and career possibilities of non-rated personnel must be changed. Every opportunity must be given to skills and abilities needed for a well rounded organization if the United States is to maintain its air leadership.¹⁰

The ramifications of Arnold's thinking extended well beyond personnel matters. Institutionally, the incorporation of officers with technical and managerial skills (many with a distinctly civilian orientation) into a military organization overwhelmingly dominated by the combat pilot posed problems. Arguably, nowhere else in the American armed services were the heroic military virtues embodied more perfectly than in the pilot. He flew the aircraft, braved combat, accomplished the primary mission, commanded the force, and set the standards by which all AAF officers were judged. Now, the Commanding General was saying that being a pilot was no longer enough. Arnold's words accurately forecast the trends noted fifteen years later by Morris Janowitz, the dean of American military sociologists, that military leadership must "strike a balance between the three roles of heroic leader, military manager, and military technologist."¹¹ For the United States Air Force, "striking the balance" began on January 12, 1945, and its implications have reverberated throughout the service ever since.

Organizationally, Arnold's initiative foreshadowed a complete restructuring of the AAF's Regular officer corps to achieve the necessary balance of officers. First and foremost, the legal statutes limiting the number of nonrated officers during peacetime to 10 percent of the total, although suspended for the duration of the war, needed to be repealed. During the war, the number of AAF officers increased from a mere 3,006 in December 1939 to 377,426 in January 1945, but the number of Regular officers changed relatively little. (See appendix

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1, United States Line Officers by Rating, 1939-1970, and table 1, Regular Army Air Forces Officers, 1940 and 1945.) The limited number of AAF Regular commissions bestowed during the war went almost exclusively to West Point graduates, all pilots, thereby skewing the percentage of Regular officers even more toward pilots than before the war.¹²

Table 1
Regular Army Air Forces Officers
1940 and 1945

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>
Pilots	1,975	3,111
Other Rated*	38	40
Nonrated	<u>29</u>	<u>29</u>
Total	2,042	3,180

* The other rated category includes all other rated officers, perhaps thirteen types of rated officers, mostly navigators and bombardiers.

Sources: Jerry W. Combs and Robert J. Ripke, "Selected Demographic Characteristics of Regular Officers in the Army Air Corps, 1927-1940," Officer Education Research Laboratory project number 7730, Maxwell AFB, Mar. 1955, table 5, p. 47; memo, Anderson to Eaker, subject: Special Qualifications for Technical Specialists, Aug. 30, 1946, 210, Commissioned and Warrant Officers, misc., 1946-1947, vol. I; tab A, RG 18, MMB, NA.

Rated or nonrated, a Regular commission was mandatory if an officer wished to pursue a military career, since the peacetime military traditionally limited career opportunities to Regular officers, and the future appeared no different in 1945. The other source of active duty officers had been those with Reserve commissions, but their role was limited. Traditionally, Reservists had served only a year or two on active duty, usually for pilot training, before returning to their Reserve units to await, as civilian-soldiers, a call to the colors in time of emergency.

In addition to a Regular commission, the AAF would have to offer ambitious and capable nonrated officers challenging and rewarding careers. Unlike the prewar Air Corps, in which the only concern centered on pilots, the postwar AAF would have to provide a wide spectrum of career fields, each

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encompassing a specialty or specialties and each promising that a capable officer could achieve high rank, including, in some cases, the elite status of a general officer. To open the flag ranks, the laws that limited the number of nonrated officers to 10 percent of the total would have to be changed to delete the requirement that all general officers must be pilots. Until their suspension in 1942, those laws had effectively prevented the few nonpilot Regular officers in the Air Corps and the AAF from achieving flag rank.*

Planning Fails to Keep Pace

Despite the magnitude of the problem and General Arnold's personal interest, the necessary planning proceeded slowly. The need to bring the war to a successful conclusion and, after January 1945, the timetable for postwar planning developed by the AAF's Special Projects Office constituted the primary stumbling blocks. Those who prepared the timetable could not foresee the atomic bomb and how it would quickly end the war against Japan. Predicting the defeat of Japan sometime in 1947 and the establishment of the peacetime military about 1950, the timetable naturally gave postwar personnel planning little sense of urgency.¹³ At the intraservice level, planning stalled in early 1945 on the size of the postwar Army. The AAF was still pursuing the status of an independent service, but that issue remained unresolved. Planning therefore took place within the Army framework, and senior Army officers showed little enthusiasm for some of the AAF's plans for the future. The disagreement pitted enthusiastic airmen, whose belief in air power had grown enormously during the war, against more cautious men, led by General of the Army George C. Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff.

Marshall supported an independent Air Force, but his experience during the chaotic demobilization after World War I led him to believe that public opinion would no more support a large standing military after the fighting ended than it had in 1919. Marshall also pointed to plans for Universal Military Training (UMT), which called for all draft-age men who did not actually serve in the military to receive some military training. When the UMT-trained men combined with the Reserve and National Guard forces, the resulting numbers would meet the demands of any future mobilization, further reducing the need for a large peacetime establishment. When faced with AAF plans submitted in the fall of 1944 that first called for 1,000,000 and later for 685,000 men, Marshall brushed them aside. Despite sharp protests from Arnold and Lt. Gen. Barney M. Giles, the AAF's Deputy Commanding General, Marshall ordered the AAF to plan on a force of only 120,000, arrayed in 16 air groups, plus those personnel necessary to staff the AAF's portion of the proposed UMT program.¹⁴

* See appendix 2, United States Air Force Line General Officers, 1939-1970.

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General of the Army George C. Marshall,
Army Chief of Staff,
1939-1945.

When the atomic bomb abruptly ended the war in August 1945, scarcely three months after the defeat of Germany, the two sides remained far apart. Using guidelines furnished by the War Department, the AAF first scaled down its demands to 650,000 men and seventy-eight air groups in May 1945, then to 550,000 men and seventy-eight air groups in August, but even these reduced figures did not end the debate. In November, the War Department cut the AAF personnel allotment to 400,000 that could be arrayed in seventy groups if strict economy ruled the use of personnel. Meanwhile, a special War Department committee considering the requirements of the postwar Army recommended reducing the figures still further to 203,600 personnel and thirty-four groups. At this point, Maj. Gen. Lauris Norstad, the AAF Assistant Chief of Staff, Plans, drew the line, saying that the AAF could not discharge its postwar responsibilities with less than 400,000 personnel and seventy air groups.¹⁵

Meanwhile, as Arnold feared, demobilization began as soon as Japan surrendered, increasing to a flood that threatened to drown postwar personnel planning even before it could get started. To keep up, the AAF demobilized as many as ten thousand men a day in an effort to reduce the force from the 2.2 million in August 1945 to six hundred thousand within a year. Fully 75 percent of the Reserve and temporary officers wished to leave the service as soon as possible. That left about seventy-three thousand officers who agreed to remain on active duty for a longer period. However, as summer gave way to fall, many who had previously expressed an interest in a military career began to drift away. Caught between a lack of action in establishing a postwar AAF and the need to begin competing in a diminishing civilian job market, they too sought release from active duty. The longer action was delayed, the greater became the number losing interest in a military career.¹⁶

Arnold, a notoriously impatient man, once again took the initiative. In late September, he sent Marshall the draft of a bill that, if approved by Congress, would have authorized the AAF to immediately tender five thousand additional

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Regular commissions. Citing the difficulty of keeping capable officers interested in a military career under the current conditions, he urged the Chief of Staff to take quick action to get such legislation enacted. Under the circumstances, however, Marshall could do nothing. The continuing dispute over the size of the postwar Army made it impossible to sponsor the enabling legislation necessary to increase Regular officer strength.¹⁷

The logjam finally broke on December 26, 1945. The new Army Chief of Staff, General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, as impressed as Arnold with the need for action, accepted the plan for an AAF of four hundred thousand, but only as an interim measure that froze the authorized force at that level until February 1, 1947. After that date, the matter would be open to further adjustments when requirements would presumably be clearer and the size of the peacetime air arm could be agreed upon.¹⁸

Two days later, the 79th Congress passed Public Law 281 (PL 79-281) authorizing twenty-five thousand Regular officers for the Army, including the AAF, an increase of some eight thousand over the previous ceiling. The new legislation omitted any reference to rated or nonrated percentages, thereby leaving that decision entirely up to the service. The AAF had previously requested that no limits be set on the number of nonrated officers who could be appointed under the law and was delighted with the Congressional response.¹⁹

The AAF did object to how PL 79-281 determined the seniority of those appointed under its provisions. To avoid everyone having the same date of rank, the new legislation provided for constructive service credit:

for the number of years, months, and days by which the applicant's age on the date of appointment exceeds twenty-five years [or] after obtaining twenty-one years, was on active federal service . . . between December 7, 1941, and the date of appointment . . . whichever is greater.²⁰

The more credit awarded, the earlier would be an officer's date of rank and the more senior he would become relative to others holding the same rank.

The AAF recognized the need to spread out the rank structure and did not object to adjusting dates of rank based on years of service after December 1941. That merely rewarded honorable wartime service, something no military man could object to. Conversely, establishing service credit above twenty-five years of age was not a reward for service, but an arbitrary standard that penalized younger men and bestowed an unfair advantage on older ones. For example, an officer, age twenty-eight, tendered a Regular commission with the rank of second lieutenant, would have his date of rank backdated three years. That would give him seniority over younger officers who might actually have more time in service, including those in the last two West Point classes. Such arbitrary shuffling of dates of rank was unacceptable to traditional military men

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accustomed to the prerogatives of seniority and attuned to getting that seniority via long years of service.²¹

Despite the strong dissent of the AAF, the only change made in awarding constructive credit was to raise the threshold of constructive service credit from an earlier proposal of twenty-four to the twenty-five years adopted by Congress. The latter figure was, incidentally, the average age of all the AAF's officers in late 1945, an indication of the extreme youth of the airmen who fought and helped win World War II. Strangely, given the postwar reputation of the Air Force as being made of young people, the average age of AAF officers at war's end was one year more than that of all Army officers.²²

The AAF's share of the newly authorized Regular officers was 4,103, raising its total to about 7,300, very near the number Arnold had requested in 1944. However, PL 79-281 was not the final word on the size of the Regular establishment. Additional legislation was in the offing, and the final size of the Regular force would be larger. Maj. Gen. Fred L. Anderson, Assistant Chief of the Air Staff for Personnel, had that in mind when he noted in January 1946 that the new law did not represent the requirements of the postwar Air Force.²³

* * * * *

PL 79-281, like Eisenhower's acceptance of an Air Force with four hundred thousand men, was an interim measure designed to overcome an impasse and allow the military to begin making some of the difficult adjustments brought on by the end of the war. For the AAF, it was now time to begin translating the intellectual acceptance of far-reaching changes into policies. At the heart of the matter was the need to meet the demands of a modern military establishment by laying the foundations of a new personnel system that would broaden the officer corps far beyond the narrow base of the prewar Air Corps. The way to accomplish that complex task was far from clear in early 1946 and would, in large measure, dominate officer personnel matters over the next several years.

Chapter Two

Laying the Foundations for an Officer Corps 1946-1947

The need to open the Army Air Forces to officers with skills other than piloting aircraft logically led to laying the foundation for such a force, the next step in the process. That foundation required the service to break with its past in a number of important areas of personnel management. The approach of the AAF in dealing with these problems dictated the orientation of the Regular officer corps for the next generation and tested the ability of the service to accommodate change.

Although the demands of war and the disagreement over the size of the postwar military establishment greatly slowed efforts at revamping the AAF's officer corps during most of 1945, some tentative decisions were made. By the end of the year, the Air Staff had traced the bare outlines of the major personnel changes needed to attract and hold nonrated officers in the postwar AAF, including Regular commissions, career fields with advancement opportunities, and the right to command AAF units. In studies completed in November 1945, the Air Staff found that nonrated officers were qualified to fill 48 percent of the officer billets in the postwar service, about the same as during the war, and could command ninety-three different types of units and installations.¹

However, the Air Staff stopped short of recommending a percentage of Regular commissions for nonrated officers equal to the percentage of billets they were capable of filling. In an important decision that marked the first qualification to acceptance of nonrated officers as equals, 70 percent of the Regular commissions were reserved for rated officers, those who flew airplanes, and 30 percent for nonrated officers.² Keeping nonrated officers at that relatively low level ensured that rated officers would dominate the commissioned ranks for the foreseeable future, an important consideration for a service that, despite change, remained wedded to the airplane.

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At the same time, signs evident throughout the war that the AAF would become an independent service became more numerous. In April 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, after a year-long study, recommended, with the Navy dissenting, a single department of the armed forces with separate branches for Army, Navy, and Air Force. General Eisenhower strongly supported an independent Air Force, and in October 1945, the War Department, represented by Lt. Gen. J. Lawton Collins, Deputy Commanding General and Chief of Staff, Army Ground Forces, went on record as favoring a defense establishment organized along the lines recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Two months later, the new President, Harry S. Truman, also endorsed coequal status—with the Army and Navy—for an independent Air Force.³

Encouraged by these events, Gen. Carl A. Spaatz, AAF Commanding General,* appointed a group of senior officers and prominent civilians to assist in developing policies to govern the independent Air Force. Known as the Air Board, the group met first in April 1946, and then periodically for two years thereafter, to offer advice and counsel on proposals put before it. Although not truly a policymaking body, the Air Board consisted mainly of those senior officers who would carry out official policies. To that end, it was important to gain their cooperation and support.⁴

Spaatz appointed Maj. Gen. Hugh J. Knerr, Commanding General of the Air Technical Service Command, as Secretary General of the Air Board. Knerr, for years a leading proponent of an independent Air Force, graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1908, but chose the Army as his branch of service. From there he entered the Air Corps where he became something of an air power advocate before retiring in 1938. Recalled to active duty during the war, he served capably as a logistician in the European and Mediterranean theaters of operations. His performance impressed Spaatz greatly and undoubtedly earned him the appointment to the Air Board. He later became the Air Force Inspector General before retiring for a second time in 1949. Although he could not mandate Air Board decisions, Knerr controlled the agenda and served as Spaatz's spokesman. Air Board minutes testify that he was not at all reticent about defending policies that he, and probably Spaatz, supported.⁵

Knerr made his presence felt even before the Air Board held its first meeting. Like other senior officers, he was dismayed at the rate at which young officers were leaving the service, an exodus that remained high even PL 79-281 increased the number of Regular commissions. The exodus was particularly true of nonrated officers and threatened to deplete the pool from which such officers would be chosen for Regular commissions. Knerr urged Spaatz, both orally and in writing, to announce a change in policies toward nonrated officers. Spaatz,

* During World War II, Spaatz had been commander of the strategic air forces in Europe and later in the Pacific. He succeeded Arnold as Commanding General in February 1946.

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Gen. Carl A. Spaatz (left), Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, 1946–1947, and Maj. Gen. Hugh J. Knerr, Secretary General of the Air Board, 1946–1947.

who had only recently exchanged ideas with Arnold on that very matter, agreed and began to publicize the expanded career opportunities for nonrated officers even before the Air Board endorsed such policies.⁶

Pressing further, Knerr then attacked what he considered to be outdated distinctions made between rated and nonrated officers. In a memo to Spaatz, he recommended that all artificial distinctions, such as the miniature wings worn by fliers to identify their aeronautical rating, be dropped unless all officers, regardless of specialty, enjoyed similar privileges. In that light, he continued, the very term “rated” was unnecessary in an era of increased parity in the competition for command positions, rank, and flag-officer billets. He urged that the term be dropped entirely for the good of the service.⁷

During discussions at the first meeting of the Air Board in April 1946, Knerr continued in his role as a policy advocate. Expanding on a remark by Maj. Gen. Muir S. Fairchild, Commanding General of the Air University, that flight might be less important in the future, Knerr warned that the Air Force must not be stuck with the airplane as the Navy was stuck with the now obsolete battleship. Maj. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, Commander of the Continental Air Command, wondered if that meant a nonrated officer, such as an engineer, might someday command the Army Air Forces. Knerr quickly seized the opportunity to push his line of reasoning to one of its long-range conclusions. The proper question, he argued, was

is he qualified for the job? Yes, that does violence to our habits of thinking in the past, but we have to look into the future and anticipate the requirements of a highly specialized

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technical service, the infancy of which was spent in flight that may not necessarily be continued as it grows up.⁸

No member of the Air Board ever seriously questioned the dominant role of the pilot. Fliers alone continued to wear badges denoting their specialties, and "rated" and "nonrated" remained important words in the service's vocabulary. Despite broad agreement that the officer corps must be dramatically expanded, the perceived needs of an overwhelmingly air-oriented service, plus a certain amount of entrenched thinking, limited both the speed and scope of change in some officer personnel policies. Still, Knerr's thinking demonstrated that at least some senior officers held a genuine commitment to expanding the officer corps, whatever the consequences.⁹

There was better agreement on another, equally important, personnel policy proposal made in 1947 defining the system that would structure and manage the officer corps. The proposed system would give the independent Air Force an infrastructure quite unlike that of the Army's corps system.

The New Officer Personnel System

The Army had developed the corps system as a means of managing the large number of functions inherent in modern military organizations. Each corps provided a particular service, such as supply (Quartermaster Corps) or transportation (Transportation Corps). A particular function became eligible for corps status whenever it grew to sufficient size and importance, and recognition of the increasing importance of aviation led to the creation of the Air Corps in 1926. Each corps was sanctioned by legislative action and, therefore, enjoyed legal status that in some cases included control over its own financial appropriations. The corps were highly autonomous, and officers were commissioned not into the Army but into the corps of their specialty. Most officers spent their entire careers in a single corps, and, in a very real sense, officers owed as much loyalty to their corps as they did to the Army at large.

The officers developing the policies for the independent Air Force had served in the Army's corps system, specifically the Air Corps, but found the system in some ways less than satisfactory. As members of the air component of an overwhelmingly ground-oriented service, Air Corps officers had felt shunted aside and undervalued, their influence limited, and their wishes seldom heeded. Air Corps officers attending formal military schools found themselves immersed in the study of military matters in which air power mattered hardly at all. In their view, there was little an airman could contribute to the study of such land battles as Gettysburg in 1863.

In the sensitive areas of rank distribution and promotion opportunity, Air Corps officers had expressed considerable discontent. Promotions came slowly

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Maj. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer,
Commander of the Continental Air Command,
1948–1949.



in the interwar years and were based entirely on seniority and years of commissioned service. The relative youth of the Air Corps and its officer cadre meant that few had the years of commissioned service necessary for promotion to field grade (major through colonel). In the mid-1930s, only 12 percent of Air Corps officers held field-grade rank as compared with an overall Army average of 40 percent. The rank imbalance continued into the postwar period, for the AAF had fewer than 4 percent of the permanent grade Regular Army colonels and still less than a proportional share of the general officers.* Repeated attempts to remedy the problem by securing a separate promotion list for the Air Corps and, later, the AAF, failed.¹⁰

The difficult search for a new personnel system began shortly after the war ended. In November 1945, the Air Staff's Operations and Training Division gave some thought to dividing the AAF into four "subforces"—flying, guided missiles, antiaircraft, and technical and service—but the idea apparently received little serious consideration. The U.S. Navy, the Royal Canadian Air Force, and the Royal Air Force were studied as possible models, but without success. The Royal Air Force, for example, depended on the British Army for many services, tied rank closely with the position held by the officer, and utilized a two-deputy system that divided the service into flying and nonflying segments, all of which the nascent U.S. Air Force wished to avoid.¹¹

The final decision on the internal structure for the Air Force was delayed until almost the last moment. In fact, the Air Board did not discuss the issue until September 9, 1947, less than two weeks before the establishment of the independent Air Force. The discussion rejected the corps system as uneconomical, excessively compartmented, and a system that divided an

* Virtually all officers held permanent ranks during peacetime. Higher temporary ranks were authorized during wartime to flesh out the expanded rank structure, but nearly everyone reverted to their permanent grades at the ended of hostilities.

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officer's loyalty between the corps and the larger service. Because the twenty-eight Army corps were legally established, they had excessive freedom from centralized control, placing them in competition with each other and resulting in an aggrandizement commonly known as empire building. While the established corps endlessly jockeyed for positions of power, still other specialties aggressively lobbied for their own corps in a competitive atmosphere that showed no sign of abating. The corps system was difficult to manage and reduced the parent service to the embarrassing position of being less powerful than the elements that composed it.¹²

The internal structure chosen for the Air Force was virtually the antithesis of the corps system. No element within the Air Force had a legal status. Any unit, from detachment to major air command, existed only so long as Air Force Headquarters saw fit. Changes in roles and missions and modifications to the chain of command required only administrative decisions. This emphasized function, efficiency, and centralized authority, at the expense of whatever stability and security the legal basis of the Army corps had provided.

Virtually all officers were grouped together into one central body known as the Officers of the Line of the Air Force, or line officers for short, where they competed for advancement on the same promotion list. Chaplains, medical personnel, and lawyers, the three exceptions to the line officer category, did not fit comfortably in the larger group because of their training and the unique ethical demands of their professions. Each of these three specialties was placed in a separate category outside the Line of the Air Force, each with its own promotion list and latitude to develop policies.¹³

Within the Line of the Air Force, specialization was dealt with, not by a system of corps, but by career fields.* Each career field encompassed a number of specialties sufficiently related to be administered as a single unit. In the most obvious example, all rated officers were placed in the flying career field. Table 2 shows the twelve career fields available to officers when the Air Force became independent in September 1947.

The career fields were very different from the Army's corps. Unlike the corps system, Air Force officers were commissioned directly into the Air Force and owed their loyalties only to the service. Once commissioned, officers were assigned to career fields where their interests and qualifications could best serve and be served. Individual interests and qualifications should ensure placement in the proper career field, but if not, transfers could be arranged. Such transfers were purely administrative matters that did not involve the legal questions that

* The major groups of specialties have at various times in Air Force history been called career segments, branches, career areas and career fields. In the interest of standardization, the term career fields was selected because it has been the most frequently used in both colloquial and formal communications for the past quarter century.

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largely froze Army officers into the corps in which they had been commissioned.¹⁴

Within career fields, officers advanced via career ladders that incorporated command positions and a suitable percentage of billets in the grades of colonel and above. In all cases, rank distribution among the various career fields was subject to adjustments if and when the needs of the Air Force changed and certain career fields merited more, or less, lucrative rank structures than before. The needs of the Air Force, constantly reevaluated and updated, determined rank distribution in each career field up to and including general officer billets.¹⁵

Table 2

Major Career Fields September 1947

Line of the Air Force	Other Specialties
Aeronautical Engineering	Chaplain
Electrical Engineering	Medical
Automotive and Armament	Justice
Construction	
Personnel and Administration	
Supply and Procurement	
Information	
Flying	
Nonflying Tactical	

Source: sixth meeting of the Air Board, pp. 129-30.

Although the major career fields did not carry the powers of an Army corps, they were, like the corps, represented at each level in the Air Force chain of command, from squadron level upward to Air Force Headquarters. Staff positions existed for each career field at every level, ensuring direct contact with the power structure, guaranteeing a role in the decision-making process, and, in general, allowing each career field to exert influence. With each career field thus protected from submersion within the overall organization, the

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system's planners hoped no field would feel unimportant, and esprit de corps could be maintained.¹⁶

To make the new system work, the Air Staff accepted the career monitoring and management responsibilities formerly exercised by the corps. The key to these responsibilities lay in developing assignment policies of mutual benefit to both the service and the individual, something the Air Corps and the AAF had not done with any consistency or commitment. In fact, many prewar personnel practices had been unsophisticated, even primitive. Officer assignments had focused on filling positions as quickly as possible with a minimum of regard for the individual's skills or desires. Established patterns or procedures an officer could consult to help plan a career were noticeably absent in a corps devoted totally to flying.

World War II was not the time to address such issues, so the inadequacies of the old system permeated the early postwar period and caused problems for a new generation of officers. One colonel recalled being reassigned ten times in seven years. Another colonel arrived at his Pentagon assignment only to find it already filled by a more readily available officer. The new arrival then had to undergo the humiliation of walking door-to-door trying to find a job. Rather than trust their fate to a system characterized by some officers as one that "transferred people from base to base like a herd of goats" to fill an endless "assortment of odd jobs," some officers bypassed the system entirely.¹⁷ One officer told how he did it:

I cultivate friends in Air Force Headquarters and if I don't like an assignment I get it changed. It is getting to where a discriminating officer cannot afford to just sit and await his orders. In other words, we are managing our own careers.¹⁸

The Air Force did not wish to live with such a system. After the Air Board approved the career field concept, the Air Staff made all assignments to the major air commands which, in turn, assigned personnel to subordinate echelons. The Air Staff personnel division used data processing equipment to monitor the careers of officers. Whenever possible, officers had a proper mix of assignments, professional military schooling, and a fair share of time overseas. Assignments were for a controlled period, usually three years, thus allowing officers to make firm plans for that span of time.¹⁹

Adoption of the basic concepts of a line officer category (career fields and centralized management instead of corps), however, did not entirely lay the matter to rest. The corps system still held an attraction for the senior leadership of the Air Force, men who had matured in the world of the Air Corps and had found some things to their liking. Letting go proved difficult for some of them, because, for all its faults, the Army's corps system had provided security and a sense of belonging.²⁰

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For the individual, security meant the stability inherent in the legal status of a corps. Change came slowly and with considerable warning. In contrast, the newly adopted system with its emphasis on efficiency, centralized management, and constant reevaluation of needs held the possibility of rapid, capricious changes that could produce turbulence for both the individual and the service.

For the institution, security meant that the corps' legal status defined the parameters within which training, experimentation, and study advanced a single specialty. The prewar Air Corps, weak as it might have been, remained shielded from massive interference by the ground-oriented parts of the Army. Within the Air Corps, capable men, among them officers who would lead the force into the 1960s, nurtured the faith that the airplane would be a pivotal weapon in future wars. Tactics and strategies had been tested, adopted, and modified in response to new ideas and the rapid technological advances in aviation in the 1930s. All that had been done within the confines of an Air Corps where men with the same basic skill—piloting—could focus almost entirely on flying airplanes.

The sense of belonging that marked the Air Corps owed much to its small size. In the interwar years, the Army had as many as eighteen thousand Regular officers, but never more than two thousand were in the Air Corps. Within that relatively small group, officers served with friends and acquaintances who shared the common bond of piloting. They were the end-products of a rigorous selection and training process that qualified them to fly airplanes, the unique weapon of aerial warfare and probably the most highly romanticized manned weapon system of this century. Airmen emphasized their sense of uniqueness by adopting distinctive modes of dress, such as white scarves and riding outfits complete with spurs. During World War II, the distinctive "fifty mission crush" service cap with its droopy, unmilitary look set airmen apart.

The problem for AAF planners was how to maintain that identity, that obvious esprit de corps, in an era of increased parity among officers, pilots and otherwise, with virtually everyone lumped into a single, amorphous body—the line officer category. The senior leadership of the AAF pondered this problem, but an entirely satisfactory answer eluded them. They rejected the corps system, but they hedged that rejection. The line officer model was adopted, but only, in the words of Lt. Gen. Idwal Edwards, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, as "an initial attempt at a solution."²¹ Many issues relative to the officer personnel system remained unresolved, and the new policies truly gained acceptance only after protracted, sometimes bitter, struggles in the years that followed.

Defining the Rated Force

As the AAF traced the contours of its new personnel system, it acted to reduce the number of categories allowed to hold an aeronautical rating. The issue was critical since, despite the incorporation of other skills, flying remained

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the mission of the service and those with wings still set the standards. Prior to the war, only commissioned officers and a minute number of enlisted men who had completed formal pilot training could be rated, but beginning in 1940, the exigencies of war and Congressional pressures had forced some dramatic changes. By 1945, such groups as service pilots, glider pilots, liaison pilots, and flight officers had wings and a claim to rated status. The Air Staff toyed briefly with retaining some of these categories, but in March 1946, Maj. Gen. Fred Anderson, the Chief of Personnel, announced that the rated force would consist entirely of commissioned officers. Personnel in the other categories would be dealt with in one of four ways: retention as nonrated officers, reduction to enlisted status for those judged not to be of officer quality, elimination from active duty, or retention as rated officers after upgrading to fully rated status.²²

Each of the war-mandated categories presented a different problem. The 3,451 glider pilots had received only the most rudimentary flight training and had no qualifications for other duties. They had no future in an Air Force that did not have gliders in its plans. The role of the glider would be filled by troops and equipment dropped by parachute. The last increment of 17 glider pilots left the active duty lists in December 1947.²³

Service pilots, numbering some twenty-eight hundred at war's end, had only limited utility since their rated qualification was confined to one type aircraft, generally transport. Many were airline pilots hurriedly brought on active duty to fly the same aircraft they had flown in civilian life. Despite their limitations, the AAF elected to retain those who could pass a battery of flight and physical exams, meet expanded flight requirements, and convince a board of officers that they had officer qualities. In other words, if qualified, they upgraded to fully rated status, but all other service pilots left the service by the end of 1946.²⁴

Flight officers, made up of navigators and bombardiers as well as pilots, constituted the largest of the war-mandated categories. Established by Congressional action in July 1942, flight officers were airborne warrant officers. They had completed flight training and met all rated requirements, but had been denied a commission because of deficiencies in officer qualities, such as lack of maturity, inadequate education, or the inability to demonstrate leadership. Some received commissions after a period of service, but many did not; and like the temporary officer's commission, the flight officer rank terminated automatically six months after the cessation of hostilities. Those with commissions received the same consideration as any other rated officer, but those who remained flight officers or who had been demoted back to flight officer after the war saw their appointments terminated. The number of flight officers dropped from approximately thirty-two thousand in June 1945 to fifty-three in December 1946, after which they disappeared from the rolls.²⁵

The most difficult group to deal with was the enlisted pilots. Whereas the other categories owed their existence to the wartime emergency, enlisted men

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had first earned wings in 1912. In 1926, Congress passed legislation requiring that at least 20 percent of the pilots in tactical units during peacetime be enlisted, apparently because enlisted men earned lesser salaries than officers. However, that element of the law was never strictly enforced, and the Air Corps' compliance did not meet its letter. Indeed, the senior leadership did not like enlisted men piloting aircraft. The very existence of enlisted pilots challenged the philosophy that equated a pilot with leadership and command and, hence, with the qualities desired in an officer. The loose enforcement of the law allowed the Air Corps to follow the course of least resistance by largely ignoring the requirement. On average, only about fifty enlisted pilots per year were trained during the interwar years.²⁶

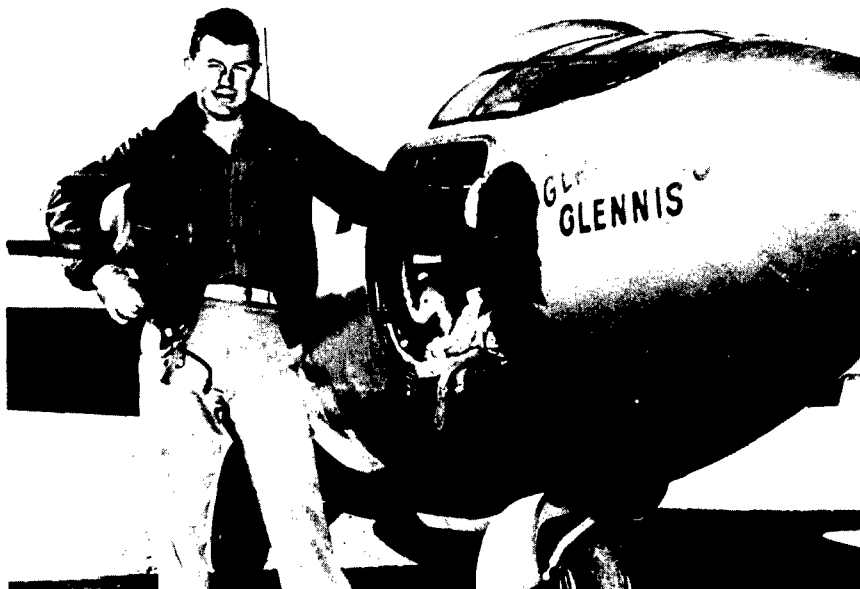
In early 1941, the increasing demand for pilots began to exceed the number of pilot applicants who had the required two years of college. Faced with the choice of lowering the educational requirements for officers or training more enlisted pilots, General Arnold chose to have more enlisted pilots trained. The first increment of enlisted pilots under the expanded program, 188 in number, began training on June 4, 1941. Within a year the overwhelming demand for rated personnel made the educational requirement almost extraneous and the enlisted pilot program merged with the vastly larger Aviation Cadet program. All the approximately 2,500 men trained as enlisted pilots received appointments as flight officers or, in some cases, as commissioned officers by the end of the war.²⁷

The first meeting of the Air Board in April 1946 debated enlisted pilots at length. General Knerr argued against enlisted pilots, but others disagreed. The opposition, led by Maj. Gen. Elwood R. Quesada, Commander of the Tactical Air Command, suggested a role for enlisted men as liaison pilots, yet another rated group emerging from the war. Liaison pilots had been eliminated from flight training because of flying deficiencies, but possessed sufficient skill to pilot small, single-engine aircraft. They did so as enlisted men whose main duty was to spot artillery shell strikes and radio the adjustments necessary to bring the guns onto the target. The board debated having enlisted liaison pilots, but, as in the past, the members seemed uncomfortable with the idea of enlisted men flying airplanes. The discussion ended with the board tacitly accepting the position that only commissioned officers should be pilots.²⁸

After the war, those enlisted pilots who did not retain their commissions were, with few exceptions, given their choice of being discharged or serving in nonflying duties. By mid-1948, only 142 enlisted pilots remained, and most of those lost their ratings in December of that year. The few exceptions were those who had earned their wings prior to 1941. They remained on active duty as pilots until retirement. The last enlisted pilot, Master Sergeant George Holmes, retired in 1957.²⁹

Terminating the several war-mandated categories was not a pleasant job. It involved the demotion or discharge of many men who had served their

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Capt. Charles E. Yeager, who entered pilot training in the enlisted pilots' program, standing alongside the Bell X-1 "Glamorous Glennis," in which he became the first person to exceed the speed of sound.

country well in time of crisis and who wished to continue that service in the independent Air Force. Even the usually uncritical *Air Force Times*, the service's unofficial newspaper, gave the Air Force an "A" in efficiency, but an "F" in humanity for its handling of the enlisted pilots. In the case of enlisted pilots and flight officers, the blow was softened by granting a large number of commissions in the Reserve forces to those who applied for them. Of the more than eight thousand flight officers who applied, over 80 percent received Reserve commissions. Enlisted pilots received a generous number of Reserve appointments as well.³⁰ Within a few years, Korea would provide many of these men with another chance at active duty service, if they still wanted it.

Augmenting the Regular Force

As it eliminated rated groups, the AAF began building up the force through the selection of some forty-one hundred officers for the Regular commissions prescribed by PL 79-281. The augmentation, which would more than double the size of the Regular officer force, was critically important in defining the composition of the service's leadership in the generation following World War

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II. All selections were to be made by a single board, with the list published by the end of June 1946 to meet the requirements of the law. This meant that the entire process, from publicizing the competition to making the selections, had to be compressed into a six-month period.

The most obvious problem was the sheer volume of applicants, as every Reserve officer and every temporary officer on active duty could apply. Temporary officers already separated from the service, but who had expressed an interest in a Regular commission prior to their departure could also apply. The total number of eligible officers exceeded one hundred thousand, of which some eighty thousand actually competed, almost twenty times the number of spaces.³¹

The ability to select from such a large number of applicants seemed to hold the promise of a handsome harvest of talent in every specialty. Yet even as it cast its net wide, the AAF restricted the catch. This first postwar augmentation concentrated on those with outstanding wartime records, without regard for either the specialty of the individual officer or how those selected fit into the prescribed 70:30 ratio between rated and nonrated officers. Another piece of legislation then before Congress to expand further the Regular establishment could be used to satisfy the rated/nonrated ratio and to fill vacancies in the many specialties.³²

In this first augmentation, the AAF sought officers from among the eighty thousand whose records demonstrated leadership and the ability to perform effectively in positions of responsibility. General Anderson highlighted these qualities, plus traditional military virtues, when he asked a number of senior officers to recommend candidates based on personal knowledge. The emphasis, he wrote, should be on

group commanders and those officers that were picked from units and placed in responsible staff positions. . . . The individual will be considered outstanding if he is recognized by his superiors and fellow officers as excelling in leadership, moral fibre, integrity, courage, and overall efficiency in whatever task or duty assigned. He must be truly the cream of the crop.³³

Without saying so, the criteria directed the selection process toward rated officers, mainly pilots, by emphasizing qualities that one expected in combat commanders. Here, then, was a military service in a period of transition to a broader-based officer corps still anchoring the core of its future leadership on the firm and familiar foundation of the traditional military values that had served it so well in the past. Although his list may not have been typical, General Spaatz recommended thirty-six officers for Regular commissions. His list included Col. Paul W. Tibbetts, pilot of the *Enola Gay*, the first aircraft to drop an atomic bomb. However, the list contained only one nonrated officer.³⁴

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The AAF's definition of the most desirable officers seemed straightforward enough, but commissioning these men proved difficult. The selection process consisted of three parts: an evaluation of three wartime officer efficiency reports on each applicant, a biographical questionnaire completed by the individual, and an interview conducted by a board of officers. Points were assigned for each part, and the total number of points were tallied to give a composite score. A score of approximately 262 points made an officer competitive for a Regular commission. The selection process lent itself well to machine scoring, an important consideration given the huge amount of data handled.³⁵

The heart of the selection process, the criteria for arriving at a composite score, had been developed by a special War Department committee and was so highly classified that no one outside that committee was privy to its provisions. When applied to a small number of records on a test basis the criteria had worked well; when applied to the larger body of AAF applicants they did not work at all. Perhaps the sample had not been truly representative, or more likely, in trying to develop selection criteria for all three branches (Army Air Forces, Army Ground Forces, and Army Service Forces), emphasis had focused on factors other than those the AAF had in mind. Either way, the selection process threatened AAF plans by awarding low composite scores to highly regarded officers and high composite scores to officers of lesser quality.

In June 1946, Maj. Gen. Albert F. Hegenberger, head of the AAF Officer Selection Board, alerted the Air Board to the problem. Using the records of four officers competing for a Regular commission, he illustrated how far the selection process diverged from the needs of the AAF. Three of the officers, two lieutenant colonels and a major, were pilots with impressive wartime records that included command experience and, among them, the destruction of at least thirty-five aircraft, two ships, and one submarine. The fourth officer, a lieutenant, had no combat experience and had not even served overseas until after the war. Yet only the lieutenant, with 260 points, had a competitive composite score. The other officers scored 229, 235, and 236 points, far short of the total needed. Furthermore, if all received Regular commissions, the lieutenant would outrank the other three officers in permanent rank by virtue of the seniority awarded him because of his age. The situation was intolerable.³⁶

Spaatz protested in a June 7, 1946, memo to Eisenhower. After a quick review of the problems caused by the composite score system, Spaatz recommended that it be discarded. Irritated at what must have seemed an example of the Army's insensitivity to the AAF's needs, he requested authority for the AAF to make its own selection in lieu of the composite score system.³⁷

Eisenhower did not agree. Instead, he authorized the commanding general of each branch (air, ground, and service) to add up to forty points to individual composite scores to align those scores with branch needs. Points could not be taken away from an applicant, so the lieutenant in General Hegenberger's example may well have received a Regular commission, but almost certainly the

Maj. Gen. Albert F. Hegenberger,
head of the Army Air Forces'
Officer Selection Board.



other three officers got the points they needed for selection as well. The extension of the forty-point option to the other Army branches suggests that discontent with the selection criteria was not unique with the AAF.³⁸

Armed with the forty-point option, the records were adjusted and the selection process was completed on time, raising the AAF Regular officer strength to 7,355—6,589 (89.6 percent) rated and 766 (10.4 percent) nonrated. Of those augmented under PL 79-281, about 20 percent were nonrated, a surprisingly high figure given the emphasis placed on combat-proven officers with command experience.³⁹

Still not satisfied, Spaatz and Hegenberger requested additional changes in a memo to Eisenhower. Although the AAF had used the forty-point option to improve the composite scores of deserving officers, it still found itself granting Regular commissions to officers with high composite scores, but mediocre records. The two generals made thirteen recommendations that, if adopted, would allow each Army branch a major role in completely rewriting the selection criteria. Even then, they argued, the composite score should serve only as a guideline with the final selection authority vested within each Army branch. Given the history of difficulties experienced by an air branch in a ground-oriented service, the request was understandable. Given the importance of this process in selecting the nucleus of the first generation of officers of the independent Air Force, it was also justified.⁴⁰

Eisenhower agreed and on July 23 authorized the commanding general of each Army branch to disregard the applicant's score if necessary to meet the requirements of the particular arm or service. By returning the final authority to the branches, where it probably belonged all along, Eisenhower defused the controversy, and the composite score system passed from the scene as the basic selection tool for picking Regular officers in subsequent selection cycles.⁴¹

Eisenhower's decision came just in time for the second major piece of officer personnel legislation in the postwar era. On August 8, 1946, the 79th

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Congress passed Public Law 670, which modified PL 79-281 by doubling the Regular officer strength of the Army to fifty thousand and allowing the service to determine when the selection process would be completed. Whereas PL 79-281 had only been an interim measure, the combination of Public Laws 281 and 670 established the ceiling on the number of Regular officers in the Army and soon-to-be-independent Air Force.⁴²

The Army became aware of major provisions of PL 79-670 in early April 1946, but the distribution of Regular commissions among its branches remained unclear. The Air Staff believed that the AAF might end up with as many as 27,500 Regular officers. An Army-sponsored draft of the legislation, circulated in May, supported that figure for the AAF; however, the bill, as passed, made no reference to distribution, leaving that decision entirely up to the Army. As late as July 30, Eisenhower still supported the 27,500 figure, but for unknown reasons, he subsequently reduced the AAF total to 25,000. Approximately 4,500 of the billets were reserved for officers to transfer their commissions to the Air Force, a process that dragged on into the 1950s, largely due to the reluctance of the Army to release some officers who wished to make the switch.⁴³

With the augmentation under PL 79-281 completed, the AAF began selecting the eighteen thousand additional officers provided by PL 79-670, fleshing out the officer corps billet by billet to meet three requirements: man the peacetime force, answer the initial surge required in time of conflict, and stay within established manpower ceilings. The 70:30 ratio between rated and non-rated officers provided both the framework and the logic to satisfy all the requirements. Studies in 1946 and 1947 showed that all rated billets could be filled with a rated force numbering only 38 percent of the officer corps. By adding in all positions collateral to flying in which a rated officer was desirable, but not mandatory, the percentage approached 50 percent, but no higher.⁴⁴

With the 70:30 ratio, at least a 20-percent surplus of rated Regular officers remained, but it was by design. The extra rated officers served in nonrated billets to acquire broader, "generalist" experience that better prepared them for positions of increased responsibility. This was a major concern since, even in 1947, few officers, regardless of rank and years of service, had any experience outside flying. In the Air Staff's estimation, approximately 80 percent of all officer billets could be filled by rated officers with a minimum of additional training, more than enough to accommodate the rated officers called for in the 70:30 ratio. Rated officers could expect tours of duty in both rated and nonrated billets during their careers, a policy made possible by the assignment flexibility of the personnel framework adopted in lieu of the more rigid corps system.⁴⁵

Such a policy also answered the surge requirements for rated officers should the nation suddenly find itself at war. In that unhappy event, rated officers in nonrated billets faced immediate recall to the cockpit to provide approximately two crew members for each rated position. That was an important consideration in time of war when men became as difficult to replace as

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machines. Rated officers in nonrated billets would maintain a minimum level of flying proficiency to speed their return to fully qualified status in time of need. The shortage in nonrated officers caused by the recall of rated officers to flying duties would be met by mobilizing the Reserves or by commissioning and training replacements, many probably performing the same or nearly the same duties as in civilian life. The time needed to turn a civilian into a fully qualified rated officer (over a year) as opposed to the time for a nonrated officer (three months or less) and the greater importance of the rated officer to the central mission of the service made this policy a good trade.⁴⁶

Assigning rated officers to nonrated billets formalized prewar policies aimed at providing rated officers with generalist backgrounds. In the prewar Air Corps, pilots had received a rudimentary type of generalist training by working in such duties as supply, ordnance, and communications. However, such training had been informal, haphazard, and limited to performing whatever duties were available in and around a flying unit. The pursuit of a generalist background in the postwar period was much different than in the Air Corps; it was now a formal part of assignment procedures. Rated officers had previously broadened their experience by performing duties distinctly secondary to flying, but the priorities were now reversed. Rated officers in nonrated positions gave the nonrated duties priority and honed their flying skills whenever they could, including on their own time.⁴⁷

Problems with the 70:30 Ratio

Ironically, the augmentation under PL 79-670 had not been completed when the 70:30 ratio began to cause serious problems. When established in November 1945, the ratio had provided a necessary foundation for planning and had, in fact, been critical in getting planning started. In August 1946, the ratio received some attention when a board headed by Brig. Gen. Edwin B. Lyon, who succeeded Maj. Gen. Hegenberger as head of the AAF's Officer Selection Board, convened to prepare an officer structure plan for the projected increase in the number of Regular officers. The board validated the 70:30 ratio, but added the recommendation that the ratio be maintained at all grade levels.⁴⁸

To keep the ratio at all grade levels, rated officers in excess of 70 percent would have to be maintained to make up for those killed while flying aircraft. The number of men that would be killed in peacetime was unknown, but attrition would be enormous in wartime. Between December 1941 and August 1945, 17,021 AAF officers died in combat while 63,170 aircraft accidents killed an almost equal number. Wartime accidents destroyed more aircraft (19,376) than were lost in combat (13,700), and the death rate among fliers in the postwar period was over five times that of nonfliers. An Air Staff paper suggested that if about 74 percent of newly commissioned second lieutenants were rated,

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the ratio could be reasonably maintained throughout. Although there is no hard evidence of that percentage being formally adopted, all the correspondence continued to specify a 70 percent rated force.⁴⁹

Whatever the outcome of the Lyon's board recommendation, the ratio was clearly in trouble by the spring of 1947. On April 1, the Air Inspector, Maj. Gen. Junius W. Jones, sharply criticized the ratio on grounds of economy and efficiency. The mandate for 70 percent rated officers, Jones said, far exceeded any reasonable requirements and resulted in over half of the twenty-three thousand pilots on stateside assignments holding nonrated billets. Even in the unit with the largest demand for rated officers, a B-29 squadron, only 56 percent of the officers performed rated duties. The AAF expended half of all flying time trying to keep rated officers at a minimum level of proficiency. The ratio had the additional drawback of forcing the AAF to commission too many substandard rated officers just to meet the 70 percent demanded by the policy. Jones strongly urged that the matter be reconsidered.⁵⁰

At the same time, the large number of rated officers drew unwanted attention from Congress. Congressional interest in rated officers became evident early in 1946 when Spaatz had to defend the flight (hazardous duty) pay of older rated officers and those rated officers in nonrated positions. He succeeded, but events, both within and outside the ability of the service to control, progressively undermined the defense of the number of rated officers.⁵¹

In late 1945, a B-25 bomber crashed into New York City's Empire State Building, killing the crew and many people in the building. News accounts portrayed the mission as nonessential because the crew was flying for proficiency, throwing the AAF on the defensive. The media coverage also included statements by junior officers charging that senior officers "sand-bagged" (flew as passengers), while claiming credit for controlling the aircraft. Even more embarrassing were figures released in early 1947 showing that, despite proficiency flying accounting for half of all flying time, over half the pilots transferring from stateside assignments to the Pacific had less than one hundred hours at the controls of an aircraft during the preceding year, not enough to maintain the level of minimum proficiency prescribed by the AAF.⁵²

The problem with Congress, however, was strictly a matter of numbers and money. In 1945, approximately 210,000 rated officers had manned some 80,000 airplanes, a ratio of about 2.6 per aircraft. By mid-1947, the active aircraft inventory had plummeted to perhaps 5,100 and the rated force stood at about 25,000. That made about five rated officers available for each aircraft. Those figures and the money needed to support such a bloated rated force were what concerned Congress. The flight pay paid crew members alone came to over \$67 million annually, not to mention the cost of maintaining and operating the many aircraft used to support proficiency flying.⁵³

Nevertheless, Congress did not act until the hearings for the fiscal year 1948 budget. Hoping to reduce military expenditures to under \$11 billion, the

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Truman administration began looking for ways to meet that goal, and pressure to cut the rated inventory began to increase. In April 1947, the Air Comptroller, Maj. Gen. Edwin Rawlings, warned that the AAF's justification for its number of rated officers might not be adequate. A month later, Congress sliced \$3.6 million from the AAF's appropriations, citing as justification the excessive numbers of rated officers. The reduction was small, but it had the marks of a warning, a harbinger of things to come if the AAF failed to set its house in order and further reduce its rated force.⁵⁴

Spaatz quickly appointed a board headed by Maj. Gen. Otto P. Weyland, Assistant Chief of the Air Staff for Plans, to study the matter. After a meeting with the Air Comptroller, the board came away convinced that the budget cut was not serious and could be absorbed without difficulty. The main objective was to develop policies to prevent it from happening again and to avoid at all costs having Congress dictate the solution to an AAF problem.⁵⁵

In early June, Weyland briefed the Air Board on the tentative findings of his group. The major objectives, he noted, were to maintain two rated officers per rated billet, have available some fifteen hundred officers for staff and command positions should mobilization take place, and do it all with fewer rated officers. Using 1944 as a baseline, when the AAF fought a war with only 52 percent rated officers, he estimated that the number of rated officers could be reduced. While unsure of the exact number, Weyland ventured that the final reduction would stabilize at about 64 percent by 1949. Any shortage of rated officers would have to be made up by better incorporating rated Reserve officers into the overall planning. This meant that rated Reserve officers would have to spend longer tours of active duty, a minimum of three years, and undergo more intensive training to be of immediate value in case of mobilization. Although General Weyland would not go beyond these few observations, he had appointed a subcommittee to come up with the actual figures. He hoped its report, not yet completed, would provide guidance for long-term planning.⁵⁶

On July 25, the subcommittee's thirteen-page report arrived on General Weyland's desk. The report integrated personnel requirements and likely budgetary constraints in arriving at conclusions similar to those Weyland had voiced earlier. The subcommittee believed that the AAF could meet all rated requirements for both the active duty and Reserve forces by training three thousand pilots and one thousand other rated officers annually. This level of training would produce a pool of some nineteen thousand younger officers capable of actually flying combat, provided the active duty commitment was set at four years (three years after finishing flight school).⁵⁷

Like General Weyland, the report forecast a lower percentage of rated officers. Given the parameters outlined above, the subcommittee believed that an officer corps with the rated officers sized between 50 percent and 60 percent could meet all requirements, with the likelihood of an even lower percentage in

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Maj. Gen. Otto P. Weyland,
Assistant Chief of the Air Staff for Plans,
1946-1947.

the future. Whatever the case, the report recommended flexibility and the avoidance of any fixed ratio in identifying officer requirements.⁵⁸

The report, in stinging language, dismissed the 70:30 ratio as arbitrary and harmful to mission accomplishment. The requirements of the AAF must be subject to continuous revision. Any ratio, the report argued, must be a *derived* value *after* specific requirements, for both rated and nonrated officers, had been identified. Any ratio, good or bad, was useful only in the short term, such as for developing budget requests for a given fiscal year.⁵⁹

The subcommittee argued that the AAF had attacked the problem incorrectly. The 70:30 ratio had provided a useful tool in getting planning underway in 1945, but beyond that it proved of little value in addressing officer requirements. If, in 1947, the service needed three thousand pilots annually or two hundred additional weather officers, then the question of rated or nonrated ratios was irrelevant.⁶⁰ Even Congress might have been better persuaded if the AAF case for rated officers had used a position-by-position analysis that reflected the latest estimate of requirements. Relying on an increasingly dubious ratio and such broad categories as rated and nonrated no doubt struck the legislators as evasive and poorly reasoned. Clearly, the AAF's argument had not been convincing.

At least part of General Weyland's counsel was quickly enacted. In August 1947, plans were initiated to increase the annual output of pilots from 825 to 3,000 and to expand the training of other rated officers from 180 to 1,564 (1,000 navigators and 564 observers) annually. The target date for reaching and sustaining the increased pilot training rate was the middle of 1949. Increasing the number of other rated officers would take longer, but by the spring of 1949 the facilities at Ellington Air Force Base, Texas, had been expanded sufficiently so that building toward the desired levels could begin.⁶¹

As for the 70:30 ratio, its fate was less than certain. It disappeared as a planning factor, never to be mentioned again in officer personnel matters. Yet

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its shadow was long. In its brief 18-month life it had formed one of the basic considerations in awarding a Regular commission to over twenty thousand officers, most of whom were pilots. The ratio gave the first generation of Air Force officers an overwhelmingly rated orientation that hindered efforts over the next twenty years to integrate nonrated officers into service. In sum, in its brief life, the 70:30 ratio had, to a very large degree, established the composition of the Regular officer corps for the first generation of Air Force officers.

The same day that the Weyland subcommittee presented its report, July 25, 1947, Congress passed one of the major pieces of military legislation in American history, the National Security Act of 1947. Among its provisions was the establishment of separate and independent departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force under a civilian Secretary of Defense. The Air Force became a separate service on September 18, 1947.

The two years between the end of the war and the passage of the National Security Act of 1947 had been years of explosive demobilization as well as drift and uncertainty in military matters. Even the deterioration of relations with the Soviet Union had not produced support for military expenditures in a nation still struggling with the effects of a world war. Congress revived selective service in mid-1948, but actual conscription was small, sufficient only to keep the already reduced military strength from falling further. After a few months, draft calls ceased as the retention of personnel improved, but selective service was still technically alive when the Korean War started in June 1950. Despite presidential and popular support, Congress never enacted Universal Military Training, which would have provided rudimentary military training to virtually all able-bodied young men. Traditional isolationist sentiment and traditional indifference to peacetime military duty kept UMT in permanent limbo, although it remained an issue for years to come.⁶²

Meanwhile, the military establishment continued to decline until June 1947, when demobilization officially ended. The Army shrank from 91 divisions to 10, the Navy's 1,166 combat vessels declined to 343, and the Marines trimmed from 10 divisions to 2. The AAF experience was similar; its wartime strength of some 213 air groups plummeted to perhaps 48, of which only 11 were fully operational. In personnel strength, the AAF "bottomed out" in May 1947 at just over 300,000, including just over 42,000 officers. When the fledgling Air Force took wing in September 1947, the overall strength had rebounded modestly to some 310,000.⁶³

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Despite the postwar drift and the upheaval wrought by demobilization, the AAF's accomplishments in officer personnel matters were considerable. The very instability of the times, and the need to give direction to an independent Air Force brought forth a number of ideas. Many ideas never got beyond

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informal discussions within the Air Staff, but those that became policy constituted something of a revolution in the way the newly independent Air Force staffed and managed its officer corps. In two hectic years, policy changes weakened, but did not entirely remove, a near-total focus on pilots; the corps system was rejected; personnel management procedures initiated; and virtually all officers brought into a single body to compete for advancement on the same promotion list. Given the degree to which those decisions gave direction to subsequent officer personnel policies, they were among the most important in the history of the United States Air Force.

Chapter Three

Erecting and Manning the Structure 1947–1950

The Air Force gained the status of an independent service in 1947, the year accepted by some historians as the beginning of the Cold War with the Soviet Union. In the early years of this confrontation, the United States, eschewing a large standing Army, relied on strategic aviation and its nuclear monopoly as the nation's trump card. In some ways, however, the infant Air Force was ill-prepared for that responsibility. Long-range bombers and trained crews were in short supply, and the seventy-group force promised in 1945 had failed to materialize. A shortage of skilled personnel required the Army to continue supporting its offspring, a condition that would endure for almost another decade. Further, the Air Force and the Navy, both of which could project power over great distances, were involved in a bitter and open dispute over the roles and missions of the two services.

Officially, the Air Force became a separate service on September 18, 1947, and W. Stuart Symington, Assistant Secretary of War for Air since February 1946, became the first Secretary of the Air Force. Actual independence, however, in terms of command of people and control of assets, arrived over the next few years via some forty transfer orders signed by the first two Secretaries of Defense, James V. Forrestal and Louis A. Johnson. For example, Transfer Order No. 1, dated September 26, 1947, moved General Carl Spaatz, with his new title of Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force, under the newly created Department of the Air Force. The next three transfer orders dealt with personnel—on October 1, 1947, Transfer Order No. 2 gave the Air Force the authority to manage its officer corps, No. 3 (October 31, 1947) approved the transfer of officers from the Army to the Air Force over the next two years, and No. 4 (November 30, 1947) moved appropriate military and civilian billets from the Army to the Air Force.¹

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W. Stuart Symington,
first Secretary of the Air Force,
served 1947–1950.

From September 1947 until the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, the fledgling service began building on the officer personnel foundation laid down during the previous two years. Building the structure was largely a matter of distributing the available officers, most of whom came on active duty during World War II, throughout the rank structure from second lieutenant to colonel and of establishing the procurement programs to support the entire system. First, however, the service had to deal with the ramifications of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. Commonly referred to as the OPA of 1947, and passed by the 80th Congress on August 10, 1947, as Public Law 381, it became the most important piece of officer personnel legislation for a generation after World War II.

The Officer Personnel Act of 1947

The primary purpose of the OPA of 1947 was to revise and update the legal foundation that governed the way all the military services managed their Regular officers. Although the OPA of 1947 dealt in some degree with all major Regular officer personnel issues, four of its provisions were particularly noteworthy: promotion by selection rather than seniority, attrition by mandatory retirement in the upper grades, attrition by dismissal from service of Regular officers who twice failed permanent promotion to any one grade, and temporary promotions without regard for length of service.² At the time, they constituted virtually a revolution in the policies governing the promotion and tenure of Regular officers.

These revolutionary overtones were by design, since one of the secondary goals of the OPA of 1947 was to correct faults in the prewar policies exposed by events in World War II. Under prewar peacetime policies, promotions were automatic through the grade of colonel after an officer completed the required

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number of years of commissioned service, provided the promotion did not exceed the maximum number of billets authorized the service in the next higher grade. When the number of billets was exceeded, which occurred often, officers waited, sometimes for years, until someone died, got promoted, or retired before they could assume the higher grade. In 1940, the seniority system was so glutted with officers from World War I that over one thousand Army officers with sufficient service to be lieutenant colonels were still captains due to the lack of vacancies in the higher grades. With the exception of a very few billets that could be filled by officers holding temporary rank, all ranks and promotions were permanent and all officers, regardless of ability, advanced in lockstep based entirely on seniority. No provisions existed for accelerating the advancement of exceptional officers and very few mechanisms were in place to eliminate poor officers. About the only way to dismiss a Regular officer was for the conviction of a civil crime or for "undesirable characteristics," presumably a reference to proclivities unacceptable in "an officer and a gentleman." The prewar milieu sapped ambition, destroyed initiative, and encouraged routine and perfunctory performance of duty.³

Hand-in-hand with a promotion system that did not reward ability went a leisurely life style. Reflecting back on the prewar Air Corps, several retired generals remembered senior officers "who had never really done a day's work in their life because in the old days there wasn't much to do around an operational unit." Others recalled strict limits on flying time because of a lack of funds, work days that ended at noon, and young officers enjoying many pleasant afternoons drinking beer or going on picnics with college coeds. The privilege of living the life of a gentleman was, as the sociologist Morris Janowitz noted, one of the rewards for enduring the isolation and routine of the peacetime military.⁴ However, in failing to instill the discipline and work habits needed to meet the challenge of wartime command, that life style contributed to the subsequent poor showing of many senior officers.

The quality of senior officers produced by the prewar milieu provided General George C. Marshall, who became Army Chief of Staff in September 1939, with one of his most serious officer personnel problems. Soon after he assumed his post, the military buildup for World War II began, and with it came an increased number of high-command billets and ever-increasing pressure on individuals who held those billets. Marshall had long known that seniority provided no indication of ability, but he was still shocked at the number of officers who performed badly when appointed to responsible positions. Even officers who had previously shown promise came apart under the demands placed upon them.

Marshall dealt ruthlessly with those who failed to discharge their responsibilities, even with some who were personal friends. Using legislation passed in July 1941, he retired or dismissed 195 Regular officers in the autumn of 1941, over five times the number removed in the previous half decade. Others were

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exiled to less demanding, and nonpromotable, positions from which they never escaped. Few of the corps and division commanders he appointed in 1940 and 1941 survived the purge and served until the end of the war. During the war, Marshall established panels, known as "plucking boards," which, acting on the recommendations of field commanders, "plucked" ineffective general officers and colonels from the ranks for retirement, including twenty AAF generals that were apparently "plucked" in early 1944. Using legislation enacted in 1940, Marshall bypassed the permanent system and promoted promising, but relatively junior, officers to temporary flag rank to fill the thirty-five new general officer billets created in the eighteen months before Pearl Harbor. Among those benefiting from temporary promotions were Dwight D. Eisenhower, Joseph W. Stillwell, Omar N. Bradley, and Carl A. Spaatz, to name but a few.⁵

The unsatisfactory experience with seniority promotions impelled the Army in early 1946 to begin planning for an entirely new system, one that would attract sufficient numbers of qualified officers and respond to national needs. The actual drafting of the Army's (and soon-to-be-independent Air Force's) portion of the legislation rested with the War Department Promotion and Planning Board, headed by Brig. Gen. John E. Dahlquist. The proposed legislation went to Congress in the early summer of 1947. Expertly guided by General Dahlquist, the Army and Air Force portion enjoyed smooth sailing through the various hearings. General Dwight Eisenhower, now the Army Chief of Staff, lent his considerable prestige in supporting testimony before the Senate Committee on Armed Services.⁶

As passed, the Army and Air Force portion of the OPA of 1947 consisted of only thirty-three pages; the Navy portion ran about one hundred pages, apparently because the Navy, unlike the other two services, made provisions for promotions in its Reserve forces. Under the provisions of the OPA of 1947, a young officer entered the Regular officer ranks as a second lieutenant and faced promotion by selection, not seniority, to the next higher permanent grade at mandated points in his career. Exceptional officers could be promoted to temporary grades higher than their permanent rank to fill billets left vacant for that purpose.

Failing promotion twice for any one permanent (not temporary) grade below colonel meant dismissal from service or, for those with sufficient years of service, mandatory retirement. Senior officers could also be mandatorily retired based on a combination of age, years of service in one grade, and total years of commissioned service. The Air Force had its own promotion list separate from the Army.⁷ (Appendix 4 contains pertinent extracts from the Army and Air Force portion of the OPA of 1947.)

Although the OPA of 1947 made provisions for eliminating officers, it did not provide the means to deal with officers whose conduct required swifter action. In June 1948, the 80th Congress passed Public Law 810 (PL 80-810), the Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act of 1948,

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Brig. Gen. John E. Dahlquist,
head of the War Department
Promotion and Planning Board.



to correct that deficiency. Among its provisions, the new law required the service secretaries to periodically convene panels that reviewed the records of all Regular officers and to dismiss those unfit for further service. Dismissal could be for a single act or for conduct over a short period of time. PL 80-810 amounted to an addendum to the OPA of 1947 and institutionalized the "plucking board" philosophy inaugurated earlier by General Marshall.⁸

Incorporated into the service as Air Force Regulation (AFR) 36-2, the dismissal authority of PL 80-810 aimed primarily at getting rid of substandard performers, but it also addressed other shortcomings. These included financial and personal irresponsibility, lying, homosexuality, intemperance, and failure to maintain minimum levels of proficiency.⁹ Taken together, the categories gave meaning to the older term "undesirable characteristics," now specified and more rigorously applied.

Realigning the Permanent Rank Structure

The OPA of 1947 specified the number of Regular officers in each permanent grade below brigadier general as a percentage of the total: colonels, 8 percent; lieutenant colonels, 14 percent; majors, 19 percent; captains, 23 percent; and each grade of lieutenant, 18 percent. The legislation also specified the total number of general officers as 0.75 percent of the number of Regular officers below brigadier general, with no more than four to hold the temporary rank of general and no more than thirteen the temporary rank of lieutenant general, producing a projected general officer rank structure approximately as shown in table 3. Officers competed for permanent promotions through the grade of colonel at points in their careers defined by years of commissioned service. As a means of stimulating duty performance with more rapid advancement, every promotion point except first lieutenant came earlier than under the

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prewar system. Table 4 compares the years required for promotion under both systems.

The main problem for the Air Force was that its officer corps did not remotely approach a balance in terms of years of service needed to fit into the authorized rank structure. To fill the three field grades (major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel) required over 7,500 officers with fifteen to thirty years of service; but in 1947, only about 1,600 such officers served on active duty. At the other extreme, only about 3,300 permanent first lieutenants were authorized, but over 11,600 officers, those commissioned during World War II, had the three to seven years of service that consigned them to that grade. Only in the rank of captain did a balance between authorized and actual numbers exist.¹⁰ Table 5 compares the permanent grade numbers authorized by the OPA of 1947 and the actual number of Air Force officers eligible for or serving in those grades in late 1947.

Table 3

Projected General Officer Structure

Grade	Number
General	4
Lieutenant General	13
Major General	58
Brigadier General	75
Total	150

Sources: memo, Upston to Spaatz, subject: Permanent General Officers, Aug. 6, 1947; seventh meeting of the Air Board, p. 17.

The implications of the rank imbalance were ominous. The service needed to be able to promote acceptable numbers of officers as a means of ensuring career opportunities and as an inducement for individuals to keep their performance at acceptable levels. Yet the enormous numbers in the grade of first lieutenant were far beyond the capability of the service to promote in an orderly manner. The number of the existing first lieutenants almost equaled the

Table 4

Permanent Promotion Points
Seniority System and OPA of 1947

Rank Promoted to	Years of Commissioned Service	
	Seniority System	OPA of 1947
First Lieutenant	3	3
Captain	10	7
Major	17	14
Lieutenant Colonel	23	21
Colonel	28	22

Source: OPA of 1947, sections 508(a) and 509(b).

Table 5

Permanent Grade Structure
Authorized and Actual, 1947

Grade	OPA Percentage	Authorized	Actual
Colonel	8	1,471	27
Lieutenant Colonel	14	2,574	328
Major	19	3,493	1,200
Captain	23	4,229	4,000
First Lieutenant	18	3,309	11,650
Second Lieutenant	18	3,309	1,200
Total	100	18,385	18,385

Sources: No complete record of the actual grade structure was found. The numbers in the actual column of this table are based on two sources that, while not entirely in agreement, are close enough to provide an acceptable model. See speech, Edwards to the Armed Forces Staff College, Oct. 26, 1948, pp. 2 and 6, and Presentation of USAF Officer Promotion Factors, undated, chart 1, ACC 61A-1131, box 1, Mil. 1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

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numbers authorized for the higher grades, a situation that would quickly result in promotion stagnation and leave the Air Force with a glutted, inoperative system, much as the Army had in 1940. Not only did the numbers in each permanent grade need to be brought into closer alignment with the provisions of the OPA of 1947, but the enormous "hump" of first lieutenants had to be dramatically reduced, lest history repeat itself.

To bridge the gap between the actual and the authorized grade strengths, the OPA of 1947 had to provide for adjustments. General Dahlquist and his staff noted the problem in the first draft of the legislation, which was circulated in October 1946, and proposed that the Air Force be allowed to promote officers up to two grades above their present permanent rank. However, that idea was dropped when the full magnitude of the problem became apparent. The OPA of 1947 merely acknowledged the problem and authorized the Air Force to solve it. Whatever the solution, the new grade structure had to be in place on July 1, 1948.¹¹

As soon as the OPA of 1947 became law, Spaatz appointed a panel chaired by Gen. Joseph T. McNarney, Commander of the Air Materiel Command, to study the problem and make recommendations on the permanent grade structure from colonel to major general. A panel chaired by Gen. Muir Fairchild performed the same functions for second lieutenant through lieutenant colonel.¹² Together, the two groups had to provide a suitable infrastructure throughout the entire spectrum of permanent ranks.

General McNarney's panel finished its work in September 1947; General Fairchild's, the following March. The groups developed criteria for special promotions to spread the available Regular officers throughout the permanent rank spectrum and provide each grade with acceptable numbers. The special promotions, known as "one shot" promotions, accomplished the task by considering officers for permanent promotion, in some cases to ranks far beyond what their years of service called for. (Table 6 contains the basic eligibility requirements for the six grades involved.)

In making the actual selections, the one shot promotion boards used mostly the same criteria used by other promotion boards: officer effectiveness reports (OERs), the trend of those OERs (up or down), academic and professional military education, temporary rank held, level of responsibility, and years of service. To help ensure selection of the best qualified officers, seniority and years of service received relatively little weight. The only real differences between the one shot and routine promotion boards were the expanded criteria for one shot promotions and the provision that officers not selected were not considered passed over for purposes of forced elimination.¹³

When they completed their work in May 1948, the various one shot promotion boards had not only accomplished their primary task of developing a completely new permanent rank structure, they had also accomplished their secondary task, which was to reduce, if not eliminate, the hump in the grade of

Table 6

Criteria for One Shot Promotions, 1948

For Permanent Major General

Permanent brigadier generals
Temporary major generals
Former temporary generals with at least 28 years of service

For Permanent Brigadier General

Permanent colonels
Permanent lieutenant colonels with at least 23 years service
Former temporary generals

For Permanent Colonel

Permanent lieutenant colonels
Permanent majors
Permanent captains with at least 14 years service

For Permanent Lieutenant Colonel

Permanent majors
Permanent captains
Permanent 1st lieutenants with at least eight years service

For Permanent Major

Permanent captains
Permanent 1st lieutenants with at least 6 ½ years service

For Permanent Captain

Permanent 1st lieutenants with at least five years service

Sources: letter, Vandenberg to personnel concerned, subject: Letter of Instructions to Ad Hoc Committee (PL 381 #2); speech, Edwards to the Armed Forces Staff College, Oct. 28, 1948, p. 6; OPA of 1947, section 518.

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Gen. Joseph T. McNarney (left), Commander of the Air Materiel Command, 1947–1949, and Gen. Muir S. Fairchild, Commander of Air University, 1946–1948.

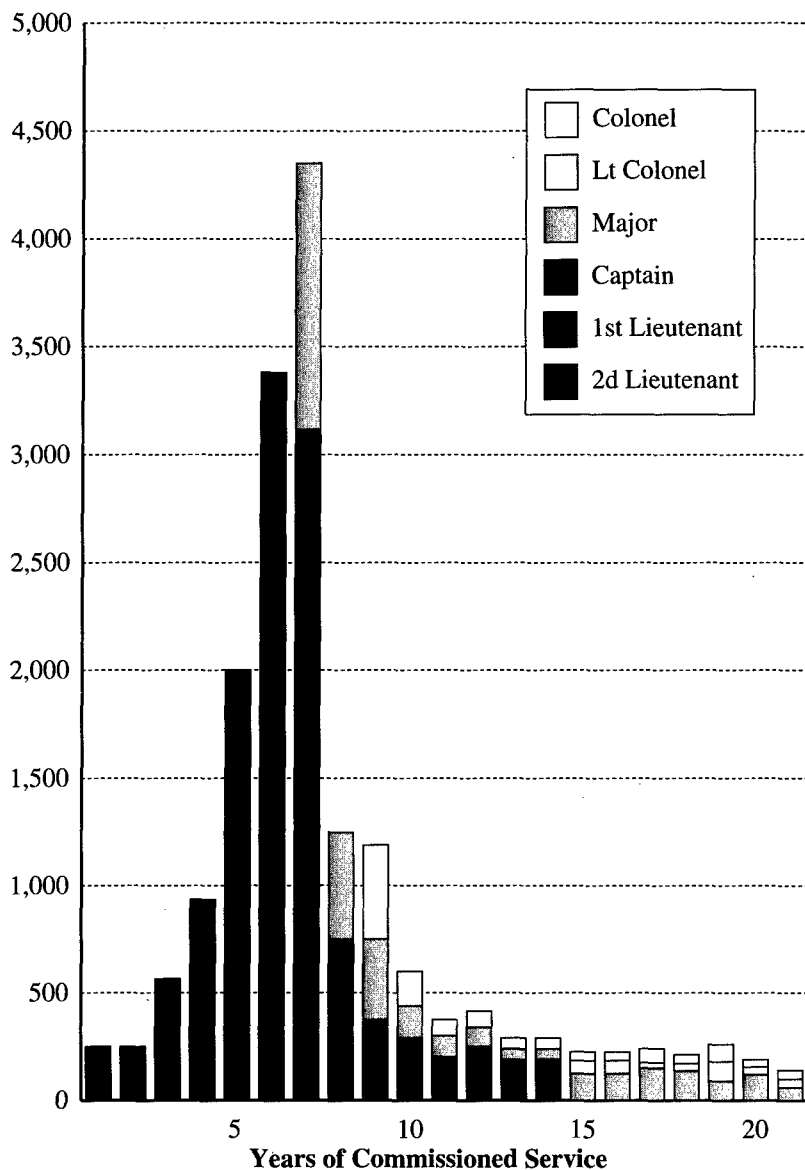
first lieutenant. Figure 1 shows the rank distribution by year of commissioned service that resulted from the one shot promotions; and table 7 illustrates the magnitude of the changes, comparing the authorized strength in each grade with the actual strengths before and after the one shot promotions. In those grades where the actual strength fell below authorized levels, officers holding temporary rank filled the vacant billets. In practice, almost 40 percent of all Regular officers in 1949 served in a temporary rank higher than their permanent grade. Under authority granted by the President, the dates of temporary rank were adjusted to ensure that, among officers in the same grade, the one senior in permanent grade was also senior in temporary rank.¹⁴

Problems with Academic Education

Another problem among Regular officers, one immune to a one shot solution, was academic education, or, rather, the lack of it. Most of the newly appointed Regular officers had entered service during World War II while still in their late teens or early twenties. With their lives interrupted at these ages, few had attended college, much less graduated; some had not even finished high school.

The Air Force had reaped a rich harvest of experience during the postwar Regular officer augmentation, but that harvest, unfortunately, contained few college graduates. Between July 1946 and December 1947, nearly half of the over fourteen thousand Regular commissions awarded went to officers with some college experience, but not degrees. Only 29 percent were awarded to

Figure 1
Permanent Rank after One Shot Adjustment
 Officers with less than 22 Years Service



Sources: project report number 25, subj: To Determine if Any Change Should Be Made in the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 Relating to Temporary Promotions, undated, DCS/P 211, Officer Personnel Act of 1947 file, RG 341, MMB, NA; Seventh Meeting of the Air Board, p. 21; OPA of 1947, sections 515(a) and (c).

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officers with college degrees, while 23 percent had only high school educations, and a few had less than that. As a result, the percentage of Regular officers with college degrees plummeted from 78 percent in 1946 to 37 percent by 1948.

Table 7

Permanent Grade Structure Before and After the One Shot Promotions of 1948

Grade	Authorized	Before	After
Major General	75	7	*
Brigadier General	75	17	*
Colonel	1,471	27	568
Lieutenant Colonel	2,574	328	1,399
Major	3,493	1,200	3,187
Captain	4,229	4,000	4,973
First Lieutenant	3,309	11,650	6,974
Second Lieutenant	3,309	1,200	736 †

* The number of generals was variously listed from 81 to 95. No breakdown between major general and brigadier general was found.

† Second lieutenants were not considered for one shot promotions. The decrease between the before and after figures was probably due to many of them arriving at three years of service and being promoted to permanent first lieutenant.

Source: briefing, subject: A Presentation of USAF Officer Promotion Factors, undated, chart 3, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil. 2 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

The concern over the academic attainments of the officer corps had little to do with being a pilot, still the central skill of the service and the skill of the vast majority of the service's senior leadership. Flying an airplane was based largely on mechanical aptitudes (gross motor skills development and hand-eye coordination) that were little affected by academic education. On the other hand, leading and managing a modern military required officers who were sensitive to a wide variety of disciplines, technical and nontechnical, inside and outside the service, capabilities that academic achievements and skills helped to clarify and put into use.

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While academic education offered no guarantee of either intelligence or competence, it, along with experience, provided the foundation for the future growth of the individual. Experience and education constituted personal potential that, with maturation and the proper stimulation, could translate into achievement. High academic achievement also indicated individual ambition, a will to overcome obstacles, a capacity to solve problems, a capability to deal with adversity, and the ability to get along with people. Further, college-educated officers would likely have better perspectives on and insights into the complex issues of civil-military relations, leadership, management, and America's role in the postwar world.¹⁶ Thus it was in the context of officership and not piloting that the low academic education level of the officer corps was disquieting to the men responsible for creating the Air Force as a separate service and a permanent institution in American defense.

Equally disquieting were the immediate prospects for correcting these deficiencies. A survey taken in 1948 of some twenty-five hundred officers competing for Regular commissions showed that only 5 percent had finished college and 41 percent had no college at all. The service academies and the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps provided college-educated officers, but only in small number. Over half those in Officer Candidate School had finished college, but their numbers were also small. Conversely, the Aviation Cadet program, virtually the only producer of rated officers and largest of the commissioning programs—about two thousand annually—could boast only 2 percent with a baccalaureate in 1948 and 1949.¹⁷

Much of the low academic attainment of Air Force officers, when compared to the other services, could be laid to relative growth. The wartime expansion aside, the Air Force had gone from a corps in 1940 with about four thousand officers to an independent service with an officer corps perhaps ten times larger in only seven years. The Army and the Navy had not undergone growth of such radical proportions because their officer corps started from numerically larger prewar bases. Thus, in 1948, the Air Force had by far the lowest level of academic achievement of the three services (table 8).

Wartime expansion, however, was apparently not the only factor at work. The continuing low academic level of the Aviation Cadet program suggested that flying held little attraction for academically oriented young men. If true, this implied that academically oriented officers from World War II had been less likely to apply for a Regular billet, forcing the Air Force to select Regular officers from a group that had neither adequate academic credentials nor the desire to obtain them.

Whatever the reasons and the implications, cries of alarm over educational deficiencies arose as early as August 1946 and continued for the next few years. Some advocated reopening the enlisted pilot program rather than accepting lower educational standards for officers or raising the educational requirements for all new officers and living with the reduced number of qualified applicants

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that would surely result. Others demanded an investigation of the system used to award Regular commissions. The service ultimately adopted a plan to attack the problem with an aggressive internal education program.¹⁸

Table 8

Officer Education Levels, 1948 (percent)

	<u>Air Force All</u>	<u>Air Force Regulars</u>	<u>Army Regulars</u>	<u>Navy Regulars</u>
Baccalaureate or More	27.7	37.0	62.8	75.4
1-3 years of College	49.3	39.6	27.6	14.2
High School or Less	23.0	23.4	9.6	10.4

Sources: letter, Chairman of the AU Board of Visitors (Robert L. Stearns) to Vandenberg, subject: Report of the Visitors Fourth Meeting, Jun. 5, 1948, DCS/P 210.2, Promotions, Jul. 1-Dec. 31, 1950, book IV-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; speech, Edwards to the Armed Forces Staff College, Oct. 26, 1948. Only about 17 percent of the Reserve officers on active duty had college degrees. See Daily Staff Digest, Nov. 9, 1950, p. 4.

The education program attacked low academic achievement in several ways, most significantly through placing officers in programs at civilian universities. By academic year 1949-50, some 1,300 officers were pursuing academic degrees from undergraduate to doctorate. In January 1950, plans were afoot to have over 1,700 in student status in a few years. Within the service, the Air Force Institute of Technology (AFIT) offered baccalaureate-level degrees in the fields of science and engineering. An outgrowth of the prewar Air Corps Engineering School, AFIT opened its doors at Wright Field, Ohio, in September 1946 with an initial student body of 189 officers. By 1950, before the Korean War forced a reduction, AFIT had a student body of 277.¹⁹

The emphasis on education also spread throughout the rank and file in less formal ways. Using the education benefits of the G. I. Bill, airmen of all ranks pursued study in off-duty hours at colleges and universities located near air bases. Still others enrolled in a wide range of correspondence courses offered by various civilian and military institutions. By the spring of 1950, over 20

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percent of all Air Force personnel, both officer and enlisted, were engaged in some sort of off-duty education. However, the Korean War interrupted this effort, introducing a fresh influx of personnel academically deficient to further dilute the force. Any real improvement in the average educational achievement of the officer was still some years in the future.²⁰

Officer Procurement

Military recruitment posed potential problems for the nascent Air Force. The nation's economy had entered the initial phase of an unparalleled growth that would continue for twenty years. Jobs were available, civilian pay scales exceeded the financial inducements offered by the military, and, at the same time, the selective service system operated only intermittently. Conscription had ended in March 1947, but declining military manpower strength forced its reintroduction in June 1948. Even so, the draft took few men—none whatever between January 1949 and the middle of 1950—as enlistments and retention began to keep up with the demand for people. The Air Force did not rely directly on the draft for its personnel, but selective service provided sufficient motivation to make airmen out of those who wished to avoid the Army and to some who wished to become officers and escape enlisted service altogether.²¹

Pilot and navigator training plunged sharply in the last half of 1945 and virtually ceased in the first quarter of 1946 due to overabundant production during the war. In mid-1946, plans called for training 1,000 pilots annually, but even that modest figure proved unattainable due to a lack of aircraft and the maintenance specialists to keep them flying. Only 778 earned their pilot wings in 1946 and 1947 together, and navigator training stopped completely between the spring of 1946 and the middle of 1950. Virtually all pilot trainees accepted were nonrated officers or recent graduates of West Point. The exceptions were a very few civilians who had demonstrated the ability to fly prior to entering the military.²²

In March 1947, the Aviation Cadet program reopened with eighty-eight enlisted men and warrant officers in pilot training. The pace quickened when the Air Force accepted the Weyland Committee's report (July 1947) calling for an annual production of three thousand pilots and one thousand navigators. To meet the increased demand, Spaatz ordered an intensive publicity and recruitment campaign. In response, eighteen teams began recruiting directly from the nation's universities and colleges. Interested students were interviewed and administered a cursory (eyesight and hearing) physical examination. Those who passed the initial screening could then apply for the Aviation Cadet program. The teams achieved a numerical success sufficient to alter the demographics of the program. Whereas most cadets came from the enlisted ranks in 1947, the majority came directly from civilian life by 1949.²³

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The quantitative success was not, however, matched by qualitative success, at least in terms of academic accomplishments. In a pattern already established in the officer corps, very few young men with college degrees showed an interest in aviation. Even cadets recruited from the universities and colleges tended to quit school before earning their baccalaureate degrees. These factors, along with the increased demand for pilots, forced the adoption of a lower than desired academic standard for Aviation Cadets. A cadet needed only a high school education and a passing score on an examination demonstrating a span of knowledge equivalent to two years of college. Even then, quality eroded further when recruiters signed up a number of questionable applicants to meet their quotas.²⁴

The other major problem with the program was its expense. The Air Training Command anticipated that approximately 35 percent of cadets entering pilot training would be eliminated, but the actual figure hovered around 50 percent. A sizable number of enlisted men resigned from the Aviation Cadet program as a means of getting out of the Air Force, since those eliminated or resigning were discharged from service free of the balance of their obligation. Even in the late 1940s, training a pilot cost about fifty thousand dollars, and those leaving the program, for whatever reason, greatly increased the program's overhead cost while reducing the number of new pilots entering the Air Force.²⁵

By the first quarter of 1949, the attrition rate among Aviation Cadets prompted the Chief of the Air Staff's Training Division, Col. Gabriel P. Disosway, to suggest changes in the qualifications for entry into pilot training. Noting that the program was too expensive, he proposed that the educational requirements be raised to two years of college and successful accomplishment of the equivalency exam. He believed that the higher educational level would increase both the numbers successfully completing pilot training and the quality of the Air Force's rated officers.²⁶ Since piloting was more a mechanical than an academic skill, Disosway presumably reasoned that increasing the educational requirements would weed out younger, less mature, applicants who were less apt to successfully endure the rigor of training.

The merits of increasing the educational prerequisites were attractive, but not without potential drawbacks. The personnel officers investigating the proposal estimated that raising the prerequisites to two years of college would decrease the pool of potential applicants by as much as 60 percent at a time when the Air Force was about to begin training one thousand navigators annually in addition to the number in pilot training. Still, General Edwards supported the recommendation despite the skepticism of a number of Air Staff offices outside the personnel staff. Those offices concurred with the decision only if the personnel staff, meaning General Edwards, accepted responsibility for meeting flight training quotas.²⁷

The "tightening up" of the Aviation Cadet Program began in October 1949. The prerequisite of two years of college was imposed, and the prohibition

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against a cadet being married, suspended the year before, was reimposed. A more formal acceptance ceremony took place in which new cadets, to impress upon them the seriousness of their commitments, signed statements affirming their intention to complete flight training. The statement was an exercise in intimidation because, in reality, it had no legal basis. To offset the effects of the reduced pool of potential cadets, the recruitment teams, now increased to thirty-six, visited 580 colleges and universities in academic year 1949–50. In January 1950, an improved battery of psychological tests, designed to determine whether an applicant should be trained in rated or nonrated duties, made its debut.²⁸ Through this program of subtle pressure, increased recruitment, and better testing methods, the Air Force hoped to meet flight training requirements. Whether it could have succeeded given the conditions of the times was soon rendered moot by the onset of the Korean War and a host of new problems related to that conflict.

While the Aviation Cadet program produced rated officers, the Officer Candidate School performed a similar function for nonrated officers. Unlike the Aviation Cadet program, OCS did not die out after World War II. The first postwar class of fifty enlisted men, the only group allowed into the program at that time, began training in October 1945, but beyond that, the future of OCS remained clouded. No one had any idea how many nonrated officers the Air Force, then in the midst of demobilization, needed to train. The estimates ran the gamut from none at all to fourteen hundred annually. Lacking a decision on that critical issue, the program drifted along with little interest and few applicants. None of the classes that entered training in 1946 had the fifty allotted students. The largest class had only thirty-two, and at least one class was canceled due to a lack of applicants.²⁹

Interest in OCS revived in late 1946 when poor retention among nonrated officers produced sizable shortages and the need to commission such officers. Two plans emerged, one by the Air Training Command calling for a production of 100 annually and the other by the Air Staff for a yearly output of 500. In December, a compromise was reached for 280 candidates per year, beginning in 1947, to enter training. Continued poor retention forced the quota up to 500 annually in July 1947, where it stayed until January 1950, when it received its final pre-Korean War increase to 640 per annum.³⁰

As the OCS program expanded, it began to experience a high elimination rate—one of the problems that plagued the Aviation Cadet program. Despite an average of five years enlisted experience per candidate, over 38 percent (149 of 392) of those in training in 1947 failed to graduate. Thereafter, the elimination rate decreased to 30 percent during 1948 and the first half of 1949 and to about 20 percent by mid-1950.³¹

Some of the decrease came from better testing that screened out many marginal applicants, but other changes also contributed. As in the Aviation Cadet program, many enlisted men entered OCS only to resign and escape the

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remainder of their enlisted service obligation. A change in early 1949 closed that loophole by requiring enlisted men who resigned to return to their former status and complete the balance of their active duty obligations.³² Although no mention is made that the change also applied to enlisted men who were eliminated from the Aviation Cadet program, it assuredly did, given the cost of flight training and the importance placed on it.

Still another factor in reducing the attrition rate came from changes in recruitment that altered the composition of OCS in late 1948 when the program was opened to civilians. Recruitment teams visiting the nation's campuses in search of Aviation Cadets began seeking OCS applicants as well and met with both quantitative and qualitative success. The percentage of Officer Candidates from the enlisted ranks fell from 100 percent in mid-1948 to 30 percent in the first half of 1950. At the same time, the education level rose sharply, and by 1950, almost half of the Officer Candidates had completed their baccalaureate and over 80 percent had two years of college. Most enlisted applicants met only the minimum educational requirement (a high school diploma) and could not match the academic credentials of the recruits from the civilian sector. Only by giving military applicants extra consideration based on their active duty service was the level of enlisted men maintained at 30 percent.³³

While recruitment for both the Aviation Cadet and OCS programs met with success on the nation's college campuses in the late 1940s, students signing up for the two programs had differing academic inclinations. Those interested in flight training were, by and large, those destined to quit college short of a degree. As a result, the percentage of college-educated Aviation Cadets remained low. Conversely, those attracted to OCS, and nonrated duties, had much better academic qualifications. This experience further supported the interpretation offered previously that young men attracted to flying were those with lesser academic inclinations.

The Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps (AFROTC), the program with the greatest potential for providing officers, was operated jointly by the military and the nation's universities. The teaching of military subjects in academia began during the Civil War when the Morrill Act (1862) authorized government financial assistance to institutions teaching such courses. The ROTC became a part of the National Defense Act of 1916, which established program guidelines that remained in effect until 1964. The Army Reorganization Act of 1920 created ROTC units specifically designed to train rated officers for the Air Corps. By 1926, seven such units existed, but a lack of funds to support flight training forced three to close in 1928 and the remainder to train only nonrated officers. Since the Air Corps had virtually no requirement for nonrated officers, it closed the remaining units in 1933. About eight hundred graduates had been provided to the air arm at the time of termination.³⁴

Interest in the AFROTC, called Air ROTC at the time, revived in the summer of 1945. The initial proposals, submitted in August and September of

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that year, acknowledged the potential of the AFROTC to furnish new officers for every component of the Air Force, the Reserves, and the Air National Guard. Beyond that, there was little agreement on what the Air Force needed or what contribution the AFROTC should make. The Air Staff Operations and Training Directorate placed the need at 6,800 new officers annually for both the active duty and Reserve components, but did not assign a quota to the AFROTC. The Air Staff Plans section called for commissioning 16,530 new officers each year, with the AFROTC furnishing 10,000 (5,600 rated and 4,400 nonrated). The Air Staff Personnel section suggested that, whatever the final figure, all AFROTC graduates be assigned to rated duties, with the less prestigious nonrated requirements being filled by those eliminated from flight training.³⁵

Distracted by other matters, notably demobilization, the Air Staff failed to translate any of the initial proposals into policy by the time the AFROTC won War Department approval on August 22, 1946. Because of the four years needed by AFROTC to produce a second lieutenant and the perceived need to produce fliers quickly should the need arise, the AFROTC tilted toward producing nonrated officers. Each AFROTC student took the same basic courses during the first two years and took specialized advanced courses during the junior and senior years. The advanced courses fully qualified each member in one of several nonrated specialties such as communications, armaments, or finance.³⁶

Although the AFROTC focused on producing nonrated officers, interested cadets could apply for flight training, and plans called for giving each of them fifteen hours of flight instruction to weed out students lacking the necessary aptitude. However, budget restrictions delayed the flight training program until after the Korean War. Besides, few AFROTC students showed any interest in earning wings, yet another indication that academic success and an interest in flying were not the norm. In 1948, the response was so poor that the Director of Training and Requirements, Maj. Gen. Earle E. Partridge, warned that even when operating at full capacity, less than 10 percent of each AFROTC class could be expected to enter flight training.³⁷

Meanwhile, the AFROTC program got underway at seventy-eight campuses in the fall of 1946 with almost nine thousand students, mostly World War II veterans. That was only half the expected number, but the shortfall was attributed to the program receiving War Department approval only a month before the start of the academic year. Confidence in AFROTC remained high enough to prompt a forecast of 150 units in place by academic year 1947-48 and an annual production of eight thousand new officers shortly thereafter. The early optimism faded quickly in the face of funding problems, a shortage of qualified instructors, and a waning of interest on the part of the veterans who flooded campuses in the postwar period. There were only 96 units in academic year 1947-48, and the target date for reaching the desired levels of production was pushed back to academic year 1950-51.³⁸

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James V. Forrestal,
first Secretary of Defense,
served 1947–1949.

In the fall of 1947, Secretary Forrestal appointed a committee chaired by Gordon Gray, Assistant Secretary of the Army, to make a comprehensive study of the military Reserve forces. In one of its early conclusions, the committee recommended that the active duty forces make better use of their respective ROTC programs. As the name implied, the *Reserve* Officers Training Corps traditionally produced officers for the *Reserve* components rather than for the active duty forces. Reserve officers could volunteer for tours of active duty, but nonvolunteers could be called only in an emergency. The wartime emergency officially ended on December 31, 1946, so Reserve officers, including ROTC graduates, called to active duty thereafter had to be volunteers. The number of volunteers among AFROTC graduates was small: only 125 of the 2,200 1948 graduates and 650 of the 3,300 1949 graduates chose the active duty option.³⁹

Throughout 1948, the Gray Committee worked on legislation designed, among other things, to place more ROTC graduates on active duty. The legislation provided three ways for ROTC graduates to discharge their obligations: to serve the entire time in the Reserve component, except in time of emergency; to serve a tour on active duty before returning to their Reserve units; or to receive a Regular commission and have an active duty military career. The proposed legislation bore the tentative title of the ROTC Act of 1949.⁴⁰

Encouraged by knowledge of the Gray Committee's ongoing initiative, the Air Force, in August 1948, revised its own goal for AFROTC to 12,500 annually, fully 85 percent of the active duty and Reserve force requirement. That level was to be reached by the end of academic year 1951–52 and sustained thereafter. About a third of each graduating class would be placed in each of the categories set up by the Gray Committee. Those competing for a Regular billet, but not selected, would revert to one of the other categories. A graduated plan of financial incentives was drawn up for all AFROTC students, with those destined for active duty receiving the more lucrative stipends.⁴¹

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Despite the planning and the promise of legislative support, the AFROTC program stumbled once again in 1949 due to a series of unfavorable events. The proposed ROTC Act of 1949 never became law, apparently because it did not have time to go through the approval cycle before the Korean War made it obsolete. That negated all the planning based on its enactment. Further, the need for ROTC officers fell into question in 1949 when restrictions in the fiscal year 1950 military budget forced the services to separate several thousand Reserve officers from active duty prior to the end of their tours. The biggest blow came when draft calls ceased in January 1949. The AFROTC Advisory Committee, which passed judgment on AFROTC initiatives, knew that the draft deferments afforded college students and the chance to serve one's military obligation as an officer in a Reserve unit were the main motivations for young men entering the AFROTC. The committee also noted that much of the planning assumed continued conscription and that AFROTC would be in jeopardy should draft calls cease, which is exactly what happened.

In academic year 1949-50, the first school year after draft calls ceased, the AFROTC actually increased in total students. The number of AFROTC graduates kept pace with the planned figures, but the program had slowed down. The number in training increased by less than six thousand over the previous year, not the almost thirty thousand planned, and the number of freshmen entering the program actually declined somewhat. Had not the nation become involved in Korea, plans for the AFROTC would surely have been scaled down. Clearly, the program had not lived up to the expectations placed on it.⁴²

The last major procurement source was service academy graduates. The Air Force did not as yet have an academy, although tentative planning to establish one began as early as 1944. Until the Air Force gained its own institution, the other service academies, West Point and Annapolis, had to furnish a portion of their graduates. The Army responded generously to the needs of its Air Force offspring, with the first postwar contingent of about 200 West Pointers commissioned as Air Force officers in June 1947. Included in that figure were 51 who went into nonrated duties, thereby fulfilling General Arnold's objective, stated in 1944, that academy graduates unsuited for flying be incorporated into the air arm. Later that year, the Army agreed to allow 40 percent (about 225) of each subsequent class to transfer to the Air Force, with the percentage to be adjusted once agreement was reached with the Navy for a contribution from Annapolis. The only real dispute came when the Army limited the percentage of transferees qualified for flight training to 63 percent. The Air Force, viewing West Pointers as prime candidates for future command, had asked that 83 percent be qualified for flight training, mostly as pilots. Symington reluctantly accepted the lower percentage.⁴³

Negotiations with the Navy for a share of Annapolis graduates had a more troubled path. The Navy had no previous institutional ties with the Air Force and consequently felt a lesser obligation to the new service. It also had its own

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air arm and understandably wanted talented midshipmen with a taste for flying to serve as naval flyers. The Air Force's effort to obtain a fixed percentage of aviation-minded midshipmen got a cool reception.

The other factor clouding efforts to gain a share of Annapolis graduates was the dismal state of relations between the Air Force and Navy. In a continuation of a conflict smoldering since before World War II, the two services clashed bitterly over the relative merits of sea- and land-based air power. The main issue centered on whether the Air Force or the Navy, both with the means to project military power over great distances, should exercise primary responsibility for the strategic atomic mission. Air Force generals labeled the aircraft carrier obsolescent, if not obsolete, while admirals called the Air Force's B-36 intercontinental bomber an inadequate airplane incapable of accomplishing its mission. Not until the Korean War did the turmoil over roles and missions, B-36s and aircraft carriers, and combat strategy subside. Before that happened, a Secretary of the Navy had resigned and the careers of some Navy officers had been ruined. The resulting bad blood strained relations between the two services for years to come.

In October 1947, the Air Force set its sights on 33 percent of each West Point and Annapolis class, although, as Spaatz candidly admitted, neither academy could satisfy the existing needs of its respective service. During talks held the following spring, the Navy rejected the Air Force's request and countered with a variety of offers ranging up to 25 percent of each Annapolis class, but no higher. As a way of showing at least some progress, Symington reluctantly accepted a token 7 percent of the Annapolis class of 1948, although, as he later told Secretary Forrestal, 33 percent of each class remained the goal. Even then, the Air Force did not get its 7 percent in 1948 because the Navy offer came after the graduating midshipmen had purchased their Navy uniforms and had received orders to their first duty assignments.⁴⁴

Negotiations for Annapolis graduates were carried out between Symington and Secretary of the Navy John L. Sullivan, but they made no progress in the negotiations throughout most of 1948. On October 22, Secretary Sullivan repeated the same offer of 7 percent of the Annapolis class of 1949 (fifty-three midshipmen). Again, Symington accepted with reluctance and concern, but he refused to lower the Air Force's demand. He then pressured Forrestal by bitterly complaining about the Navy's attitude. In particular, he contrasted the generosity of the Army with the meagerness of the Navy's contribution.⁴⁵

Forrestal sidestepped the dispute by referring it to the Service Academy Board, an interservice panel previously established to study the structure and education of the two service academies. The board made its recommendations on June 24, 1949. In something of a victory for the Navy, it recommended that 25 percent of each West Point and Annapolis class be allowed to transfer to the Air Force, provided all were volunteers. Due to its special need to maintain an aviation branch, the Navy could substitute up to 25 percent of its quota with

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Naval ROTC (NROTC) cadets. If accepted, the agreement would net the Air Force about 200 Navy officers annually, of which at least 150 would be Annapolis graduates.⁴⁶

During a July 11 meeting, Symington discussed the board's recommendations with Francis P. Matthews, who had succeeded Sullivan as Navy Secretary. (Sullivan had resigned in protest over the cancellation of the carrier USS *United States*.) Giving ground, the Air Force Secretary accepted the overall 25 percent recommendation, but disagreed with the substitution of NROTC graduates. He also requested that at least 60 percent of the USNA graduates selecting the Air Force be qualified for flight training. Three weeks later, Secretary Matthews responded. He agreed not to substitute NROTC graduates unless sufficient Annapolis volunteers could not be obtained, but only 50, not 60, percent would be qualified for flying duty. He further reserved the right to reevaluate any percentage should the Navy's need for aviators increase. Reluctant to give up Annapolis graduates beyond carefully established limits, the Navy Secretary added the additional reservation that any agreement would be reviewed should midshipmen be transferred to the planned air academy to form the nucleus of its initial student body.⁴⁷

Symington accepted the offer. It was less than he wanted, but all he was going to get. Between 1950, the year the agreement with the Army and Navy became effective, and 1959, the year the Air Force Academy graduated its first class, the Air Force took about thirty-two hundred West Point and Annapolis graduates into its ranks. After that, greatly diminished numbers of graduates from the two institutions continued to don Air Force uniforms on into the late 1960s. In all, about forty-two hundred cadets and midshipmen chose the Air Force between 1949 and 1968.⁴⁸

* * * * *

Despite the problems encountered, the Air Force's efforts to establish its officer corps continued to meet with success. The reasonably, if not ideally, shaped rank structure coming out of the one shot promotions avoided, at least for the time being, a glutted, stagnated promotion system as had existed for the Army before World War II. Similarly, the foundations of a procurement system had been laid, something that paid dividends when the Korean War's sudden demand for many more new officers required not new programs, but only the expansion of existing ones.

On the other hand, both these accomplishments had flaws. There were costs involved in subjecting as large and as complex a body as the permanent rank structure to a massive manipulation, but the full impact of those costs would not emerge for a decade. More apparent were the problems of the commissioning programs where, despite having four programs, gaps remained. Foremost of these was an Aviation Cadet program that failed to attract academically

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educated applicants in any except the smallest numbers and the failure of the AFROTC to live up to its potential. Both shortcomings were destined to be of long duration.

Still, the overall impression was of a new service making progress toward establishing the policies of its own officer corps. There had been broad agreement on opening up the officer ranks to the spectrum of skills necessary for a modern military and a willingness to take the necessary steps to do so. The narrative thus far has suggested a broad area of agreement on officer personnel matters and a willingness to adopt policies toward that end. That was, however, not the entire picture, as events inside and outside the service also made the late 1940s a period marked by internal resistance and external turbulence.

Chapter Four

Resistance and Turbulence 1948–1950

Throughout the early years of the independent Air Force, one of the more difficult tasks was to persuade some senior officers to accept the changes in officer personnel policies. Men whose values were rooted in the smaller, more personal world of the Air Corps suddenly were asked to broaden their vision to accommodate a larger, more impersonal service that needed officers with skills ranging from dietitian to pilot.

The Air Staff, whose servicewide responsibilities provided them with a wider view of officer personnel matters, readily accepted the changes and pressed ahead with their implementation. The major air commanders agreed to the changes, at least initially, but that acceptance began to develop qualifications. The most obvious qualification, and one with servicewide implications, arose in 1948 over career management, the very heart of officer personnel policies.

Officer Career Management: Resistance and Progress

The concept of a coherent system that provided officers with the basic information they needed to plan for careers in their chosen fields—such as rank requirements, specialized training, or academic prerequisites—was not entirely a new idea. Such a system began to emerge in 1945 with the realization that something was needed to replace the more-or-less haphazard conditions of the prewar Air Corps that left achieving advancement almost entirely up to individual officers. In 1946, related skills were grouped together into career fields, and the Air Staff accepted overall responsibility for managing the entire structure.

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Throughout the late 1940s, progress in developing career management procedures achieved a degree of success. By 1949, a servicewide questionnaire and several thousand indepth interviews had identified over 250 separate officer specialties. By May 1950, these had been placed in the nineteen major career fields shown in table 9. During the same period, the procedures and formats for writing the job descriptions for each of the specialties were developed. As the last step in the process, each specialty received an Air Force Specialty Code (AFSC) to identify it precisely. In combination, the career fields, the AFSCs, and the job descriptions provided the primary career management tool through an accurate and comprehensive inventory of the qualifications, capabilities, and experience of all officer personnel. Progress was sufficiently rapid for officials to predict that officer career management would be fully operational by late 1950.¹

Table 9

Major Officer Career Fields May 1950

Personnel and Administration	Weather
Procurement	Intelligence
Comptroller	Supply
Transportation	Combat and Operations
Research and Development	Education and Training
Aviation and Engineering	Public Relations
Armament	Legal
Electronics	Chaplain
Mechanical and Aircraft	Medical
Maintenance	Human Resource

Source: historical summary, Directorate of Training, Jul. 1, 1949–Jun. 30, 1950, p. 3, ACC 67A–0575, box 1, RG 341, WNRC.

That progress had not gone unchallenged. The idea of career fields and career management was first introduced in September 1947 to the Air Board. Board members discussed the issue at length, and while nobody raised any serious objections in September, that was not the case at the next meeting in

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January 1948. By then, the senior leaders had better familiarized themselves with how the system worked. When Maj. Gen. Hugh Knerr, the Air Board Secretary, placed the issue before the board, the response was almost entirely negative:

Maj. Gen. Muir Fairchild (Air University): "I am against it."

Lt. Gen. John Cannon (Air Training Command): "I would put it up in Idwal Edward's office and leave it there."

Lt. Gen. George Stratemeyer (Air Defense Command): "I think we ought to throw it out."

Maj. Gen. Elwood Quesada (Tactical Air Command): "I would turn it into a pineapple (i.e., hand grenade) first."

Gen. George Kenney (Strategic Air Command): "I would put it in the nearest fire and forbid people to make anymore like it."²

Although many of the comments were humorous, the issue was dead serious. Five major commanders, including those of all three combat commands, balked at a wide variety of officer career management concepts.

Most of the opposition focused on career fields. Despite assurances that the career fields were merely administrative units that had little power in themselves, the major commanders saw them as *de facto* corps, such as in the Army, with the ability to restrict the assignments of officers to other fields. This troubled senior officers determined to provide officers with broader, more general backgrounds in preparation for positions of higher authority. Assurances that officers would get periodic assignments outside their primary career fields did not satisfy the major commanders. Under heavy pressure, Knerr agreed to forward their objections to the Air Staff along with the recommendation that the career fields be renamed "major educational fields."³ Apparently, the disaffected major commanders believed that the name change would somehow weaken the ability of the career fields to hold officers in a narrow spectrum of skills.

Additional resistance focused on officer assignment procedures. Under the concept of centralized career management, all assignments would be made by the Air Staff. In this case, however, the major commanders preferred the old system. Prior to World War II, the right to direct the assignments of subordinates had been a jealously guarded privilege of command. The seniority promotion system guaranteed promotions, so almost the only way a commander could reward good performance was with a choice assignment. When faced with

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Lt. Gen. Idwal H. Edwards,
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel,
1947-1950.

a new system that denied them that power, many senior officers dug in their heels. Despite the increase in the number of Air Force officers since the interwar years, these reluctant commanders clung to the belief that they could evaluate each officer well enough to direct the next assignment. They believed that their position was not only practical, but also gave a personal touch to an otherwise cold, mechanical process. They did not emphasize the loss of command privilege under the new system, although they must have felt it.⁴

Despite the opposition, Lt. Gen. Idwal Edwards, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, was not discouraged. Shortly after the Air Board members registered their objections, he sketched an outline of officer career management for Eugene M. Zuckert, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Management, that was identical to what had been planned for nearly two years. Edwards acknowledged the opposition, but he expressed optimism that the new system would sell itself in time. He was undoubtedly heartened by a survey that showed that officer career management policies enjoyed an overwhelming 90 percent approval rating among the rank and file officers.⁵

Unfortunately for career management, General Edwards had underestimated the opposition. The disaffected senior officers came to terms with the idea of career fields, but their demand for a role in assignments remained as strong as ever. Efforts to resolve this and other disputes delayed implementing career management into the summer of 1950, when larger events, in the form of the Korean War (1950-53), took over. The war created personnel problems with much higher priorities than basic personnel management, many people involved in planning career management were reassigned, and work in that area slowed considerably. A comprehensive plan for career management, discussed off and on since 1945 and actively pursued as a goal since at least 1947, was not destined to become a reality until the mid-1950s.

This clash was what could have been expected in a new military service attempting to establish its own policies while responding to the demands of the

times. The two sides in the clash, tradition and change, could probably have been found in any number of issues of the day. Take, for example, events in the Strategic Air Command (SAC).

The Experiment in SAC

In April 1946, Gen. George C. Kenney assumed command of SAC. During the war he had served with distinction in the Pacific as Commanding General, Allied Air Forces in the Southwest Pacific; Commanding General of the Fifth Air Force; and, finally, as the Commanding General of the Far East Air Forces. In those positions he had earned the complete confidence of his famous superior, Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Although most of his experience was with tactical fighters and medium bombers, including B-24s, Kenney's excellent wartime record and proven ability as a commander earned him the position as head of the nation's strategic bombardment force. His skills were badly needed as SAC struggled to maintain creditable strength levels in an era of increasingly austere defense budgets. Such conditions, sufficiently difficult to deal with by themselves, were made worse by an officer personnel policy unique to SAC.

For a variety of reasons, Kenney spent a great deal of time away from his new duties. For six months, he also served as the senior U.S. military representative to the United Nations Military Staff Committee, a complication that prevented his taking active command of SAC until October 1946. He was an effective public speaker who, with the encouragement of the Secretary of the Air Force, frequently addressed audiences nationwide in support of air power.⁶

During Kenney's absences, control of SAC fell to the deputy commander. The arrangement did not cause any controversy during the tenure of Maj. Gen. St. Clair Streett as deputy commander. The same cannot be said about his successor, Maj. Gen. Clements McMullen, who assumed those duties in January 1947. McMullen had served as a logistician in the Pacific during the war and impressed Kenney with his integrity and willingness to make decisions.⁷ A stern taskmaster, McMullen's attitude toward requests for more personnel was to "give them half of what they ask for, work them twice as hard, and they will get twice as much done."⁸ Kenney had complete confidence in McMullen and gave his deputy commander unprecedented authority during his frequent absences.

McMullen brought two basic concepts to his new duties: a dedication to efficiency and the belief that only a rated officer, particularly a pilot, was of any real value to the Air Force. He quickly settled on the manning of SAC's B-29 squadrons as a way to implement both his ideas. Each B-29 squadron had eighty officers assigned, of whom sixteen were nonrated. McMullen reasoned that if rated officers performed the nonrated duties during their time on the ground, those sixteen billets could be eliminated entirely. Further, if the B-29's flight engineer positions were converted to enlisted billets, an additional ten

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Gen. George C. Kenney (left), Commander, Strategic Air Command, 1946–1948, and Maj. Gen. Clements McMullen, Deputy Commander, Strategic Air Command, 1947–1948.

officer billets could be deleted. Thus each B-29 squadron could be reduced from eighty to fifty-four officers without any harm being done to the mission, and rated officers could gain valuable experience in other specialties.⁹

Still not satisfied, the deputy commander pushed his line of reasoning further. Rather than being qualified in only one rated skill, why not have each officer crew member cross-train into other rated positions? This would allow increased flexibility in scheduling since each air crew member could be used in multiple positions. Aircrew members would, in addition to ground duties, earn additional airborne qualifications as follows:

Pilots as navigators, bombardiers, flight engineers, radar operators, and familiarization as gunners.

Bombardiers as navigators, radar operators, and flight engineers.

Navigators as radar operators and bombardiers.

Radar operators as navigators and bombardiers.

Flight engineers (officers) as bombardiers and maintenance engineers.

If every bit of ground time were used and there were no complications, the cross training would take almost 2 years to complete. When completed, the officer composition of SAC's B-29 squadrons would more closely resemble that of prewar Air Corps squadrons, exactly what McMullen wanted.¹⁰

Despite violating Air Force policy that nonrated officers be integrated into the service's fabric and warnings of adverse consequences from his own staff,

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McMullen gave the go-ahead both to rated officer cross-training and the reduction in the number of nonrated officers. By December 1947, ten months after he became deputy commander, the percentage of nonrated officers in SAC had dropped from 38 to 27 percent; in some units it dipped as low as 13 percent. Some nonrated officers were reassigned out of SAC for no other reason than to reduce their numbers as much as possible. Seeing no future in SAC, still other nonrated officers assisted McMullen by seeking assignments to other commands.¹¹

The effect of McMullen's policies on rated officers was equally profound. Spread thin trying to keep proficient in their primary duties, cross-training into other airborne specialties, and holding down desk jobs, the rated officers simply could not satisfy the demands placed upon them. Because so many ill-trained crew members took part, training missions had to be structured to make them as easy as possible, and crew proficiency plummeted still further as a result. Units that relied heavily on rated officers to perform nonrated duties almost ceased to function when mass aircraft deployments stripped the units of their officers. As with their nonrated brethren, the morale of rated officers declined under the workload. By the end of 1947, only two of SAC's eleven groups remained combat ready; the others had only limited capability and for short periods of time.¹²

Strangely, those in higher positions of authority were hesitant to put an end to the situation despite the obvious damage done by McMullen's policies. Part of the reason was that Kenney protected his deputy from higher headquarters. Indeed, Kenney shared McMullen's faith in the pilot (he stated so to the Air Board) and had established an arbitrary 20 percent ceiling on nonrated officers in SAC even before McMullen assumed his duties. To the end of his life, Kenney refused to fault SAC's officer personnel policies and even suggested that some of those policies were his own.¹³

A perplexed Spaatz did try to get SAC in step with Air Force policy. At the Army Air Forces Commander's Conference in March 1947, he talked at length on the need for nonrated officers and apparently spoke privately with Kenney on the subject. Whatever he said did not impress Kenney because shortly thereafter the SAC Commander rejected the services of several nonrated officers recently transferred from the Army.

Spaatz was furious. The negotiations with the Army over such officers were sensitive, and he could ill-afford the embarrassment of having them refused by one of his most prominent commanders. Taking pen in hand, the usually mild-mannered Chief of Staff hotly informed Kenney that he *would* accept the officers and further

I have made an effort to explain to you . . . my personnel plan.
If it is not clear to you at this time, come to me, so report and
I will endeavor again to make it clear. I expect that you and

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your staff will become familiar with Air Force policies and plans and will carry them out promptly and loyally.¹⁴

Despite the rebuke and continuing pressure, SAC remained outside the mainstream of officer personnel policies. That this continued for over eighteen months reflected poorly on Spaatz. His obvious course of action was to issue a direct order and if that failed, to remove both officers. Why he did not take that action is not recorded, but Kenney was a highly visible public figure with an outstanding war record and undoubtedly that helped protect him. Beyond that, SAC was Kenney's command and since the nation was at peace, Spaatz possibly saw no compelling reason for him to confront the issue head on.

It took Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, who succeeded Spaatz on April 30, 1948, along with increasing internal and external pressure to force change. Internally, pressure came from senior officers privately urging the new Chief of Staff to fire both Kenney and McMullen.¹⁵ The external pressure came from a worsening international scene. In February 1948, a Communist coup toppled the democratically elected government of Czechoslovakia. Four months later, the Soviet Union closed the ground access of the western powers to Berlin, forcing the aerial resupply of the city via the three air corridors connecting it with the western zones of Germany.

Vandenberg asked the famous aviator, Charles A. Lindbergh, a Reserve colonel, to evaluate SAC's capability to accomplish its mission. Lindbergh visited six bases and logged over one hundred hours in the air with SAC crews before submitting his unfavorable report in September. Lindbergh found poorly selected personnel, low proficiency, and poorly developed teamwork. Everyone, he noted, was overworked. He recommended that the cross-training program be eliminated or greatly modified, training be made more realistic, and individuals made proficient in their primary duties.¹⁶

Lindbergh's report could hardly have been a surprise, but it did give Vandenberg the independent written evidence he wanted. In less than a month, both the SAC Commander and Deputy Commander were quietly reassigned to new duties. Kenney transferred to Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, as Air University Commander, where he served until his retirement in 1951. McMullen returned to logistics as Commander of the San Antonio, Texas, Air Materiel Area, retiring in 1954.

Vandenberg appointed Lt. Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Commander of United States Air Forces in Europe, as Commander of SAC. During the war, LeMay had commanded a heavy bombardment division in Europe and, later, the Twentieth Air Force in the Pacific. In the Pacific, he had commanded the B-29 campaign against Japan that included dropping the two atomic bombs that ended the war. He was considered to be one of the best, if not the best, strategic bombardment commanders in the Air Force. In his nine-year tenure as SAC Commander, LeMay more than lived up to his advanced billing.

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LeMay brought an entirely new approach to SAC, one that emphasized mission accomplishment over all else. He was not about to let a misguided personnel policy stand in his way. One of his first acts was to scrap the officer personnel policies of the previous regime. He removed the limits on nonrated officers in SAC, and hastened to assure such officers that they had a future in his command. The cross-training program gave way to specialization in a single primary duty, additional duties for aircrew members were virtually eliminated, and training missions were structured to make them as near to combat conditions as possible.¹⁷

Generals Kenney and McMullen were capable officers, but they could not fully accommodate the demands thrust upon them by an increasingly complex military. Maintaining SAC at levels sufficient to accomplish its mission would have been difficult enough given the budgetary ceilings of the times, a challenge rendered more difficult, if not impossible, by the command's officer personnel policies. True, LeMay profited from the intensification of the Cold War and the increased emphasis on strategic retaliation as the cornerstone of the nation's defense, but that was not the only reason. He had also learned from his previous experience that many skills were needed in a modern Air Force. When faced with SAC's declining state of readiness, he did not hesitate to implement the personnel policies necessary to help reverse the trend and start his command on the road to being the elite in the Air Force.

R&D and Control

Out-of-date personnel policies also caused problems in the field of research and development (R&D). In R&D, the Air Force confronted the technological changes of the time, working out and testing new aircraft designs and developing electronic components to replace mechanical components in aircraft. Senior officers at least intellectually accepted that superior technology had become critical to an effective Air Force in both peace and war. Nevertheless, the service's infrastructure and personnel policies did not keep pace with the need to support R&D as an integral part of the mission.

Basically, in the late 1940s, the R&D function lacked the power to control the men and material it needed. The problem was primarily organizational. At the Air Staff level, its spokesman headed one (of four) directorates under the Deputy Chief of Staff, Materiel. In the field, R&D came under the Engineering Division of the Air Materiel Command (AMC), which had its headquarters at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. The command's span of control was enormous, encompassing a sprawling, worldwide complex of depots that controlled the logistics process from the identification of new requirements to the field maintenance of existing systems. Headed by officers with a "nuts and bolts" outlook, the AMC concentrated on the "here and now." The research-

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Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle, USAF Reserve.

oriented Engineering Division, along with R&D, found itself shoved into the background.

This situation lasted until early 1949 when a group of influential officers led by Lt. Gen. Jimmy Doolittle, a Reserve officer, the leader of "Doolittle's Raid" on Tokyo in 1942, and Commander of the Eighth Air Force during 1944–45, persuaded Lt. Gen. Muir Fairchild, the Vice Chief of Staff, to commission a study on the state of Air Force R&D. Reporting in September 1949, the study group, headed by Louis N. Ridenour, Dean of the University of Illinois Graduate School, recommended that the R&D function be separated from logistics and concentrated in a new major air command, and that its position on the Air Staff be strengthened. A similar study by the Air University, also commissioned by Fairchild, reached the same conclusions two months later. Both studies were implemented in January 1950 with the creation of the Air Research and Development Command and by strengthening R&D's position on the Air Staff through the establishment of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Development.¹⁸

Although the major problem associated with R&D was organizational, there was also a personnel problem, both in numbers of officers and in policy. Few officers with technical backgrounds stayed in the Air Force after the war, and only 20 percent of the already small number of officers with a college education held degrees in science or engineering. Already spread thin on expertise, R&D encountered difficulties in managing even these relatively few officers. Rated officers were vulnerable to recalls to flying duty, and officers without a previous overseas tour could receive such an assignment on short notice. Even attendance at professional service schools had priority over R&D duties.¹⁹

The only way to hold particularly important officers after they had been identified for reassignment was to declare them essential to the R&D mission. Even then, the senior R&D officer on the Air Staff, a major general, had to get

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assignments canceled on a case-by-case basis. In some ways similar to the events in SAC, the belief that officers should have broad experience was making it difficult for a highly specialized segment of the Air Force to contribute to the service's mission.

Both the Ridenour Report and the Air University study (Anderson Report)* addressed the problems caused by personnel policies, just as they did organizational deficiencies. Both reports criticized the management of the limited number of technically trained officers, the Anderson Report being the most specific. Noting the common sense in assigning other highly specialized officers, such as doctors, only to their specialty, the report maintained that the same policy should apply to scientific and technical personnel. In such cases, the technical ability of such officers should be the overriding priority in assignments, even at some expense to the primary (flying) mission of the Air Force.²⁰

Taking their argument on personnel policies a step further, both reports offered another important recommendation. The shortage of technically trained officers made it imperative not only to structure assignment policies so as to use them in their specialties, but also to have detailed knowledge of each officer's capabilities. Two actions would be involved: cataloging all technically trained officers and completing the planning for the various career fields to include specific requirements and detailed job descriptions of each specialty, precisely what was just getting under way in the summer and early fall of 1949 for the whole officer corps.²¹

The personnel side of the R&D issue proved more difficult to deal with than did the organizational side. The creation of the Air Research and Development Command in 1950 gave R&D the status of a major command rather than submerged in a division that took little interest in it, but personnel policy lagged behind. The cataloging of officer skills and the planning for the various career fields was beginning in 1949 and would not be completed for another four years. However, the lesson had been learned: if officers had specialties of sufficient importance, they should not be reassigned elsewhere without good and sufficient reason.

Taken together, the experiences of SAC and the R&D community in the late 1940s suggested that the trends toward increased specialization, expanded use of nonrated officers, and more effective officer career management were necessary, although unpopular with some senior officers. At a minimum, no other senior officers attempted to rid their commands of nonrated officers, although true acceptance of such officers was another matter. In fact, there was still a pronounced preference for rated officers in virtually any position, an obvious manifestation of which could be found in procurement programs and the use of the Reserve forces to redress nonrated shortages.

* The Air University study was also known as the Anderson Report after its sponsor, Maj. Gen. Orvil A. Anderson, Commandant of the Air War College.

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Maj. Gen. Orvil A. Anderson,
Commandant, Air War College,
1946-1950.

Officer Procurement and the Reserve Forces

In quantitative terms, the procurement of rated officers was reasonably successful. Pilot production topped nineteen hundred in fiscal year 1950, with the Weyland Committee's goal of three thousand annually planned for the next fiscal year. That was a year behind the original schedule, but, as it turned out, flying units could not absorb new pilots at a rate faster than that of the last two fiscal years before the Korean War, mainly because of a shortage of support personnel. Presumably, the ability of units to incorporate new pilots would improve with time, so the absorption problem caused no serious concern. No trend in navigator production had developed since only one such class had graduated when hostilities began in Korea.²²

If there was reason for optimism about rated officer production, the same could not be said about nonrated officers. Despite the postwar opening of the officer corps to skills besides flying, the retention rate among nonrated officers remained poor in a service still overwhelmingly dominated by rated officers. The Air Force needed a minimum of three thousand new nonrated officers each year to replace losses and to support a planned increase in manpower necessary for a seventy-group force. At best, the service academies, the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps, and the Officer Candidate School produced less than half the minimum requirement. Whereas the production of rated officers roughly equaled the ability of flying units to absorb them, a shortage of nonrated officers existed throughout the service, even after taking into account the use of rated officers in nonrated billets.²³

The shortfall in nonrated officers was largely a matter of choice. With the defense budget under heavy pressure, the natural inclination was to support the

primary mission—flying—by keeping rated procurement at acceptable levels and living with the shortage in nonrated officers. An attempt in 1949 to secure the enabling legislation to bring larger numbers of ROTC graduates to active duty, most of whom would have been nonrated, was the preferred solution to the problem, but the legislation was still pending when the Korean War made it obsolete. Nonetheless, the shortage of nonrated officers and the willingness of the Air Force to accept that situation provided a clear indication of the relative importance assigned to the two categories of officers.²⁴

The quantitative failure of the nonrated recruitment programs forced the Air Force to turn to the largest pool of officers available to fill active duty requirements, those in the Reserve components, the Air Force Reserve and the Air National Guard. On the recommendation of the Weyland Committee, the Air Force adopted a standard three-year tour for Reserve officers who came on active duty, more than double the tour length before the war. In a significant number of cases, three-year extensions could be authorized if the officers in question possessed badly needed skills and agreed to the additional commitment. At the end of three or six years, Reservists separated from active duty and returned to their Reserve units to serve the remainder of their military obligations. Since Reserve officers constituted over 60 percent of all active duty officers, the turnover would be enormous. In a given year, upward of twelve thousand Reserve officers, about 20 percent of the active duty officer corps, would separate from active duty and would have to be replaced, mainly through the recall of still other Reservists to active duty.²⁵

At first glance, the continual loss of experience inherent in such a policy seemed unacceptable to a service attempting to build a high-quality officer corps. It also contradicted the basic preference of the professional military for expending its time and money on the active duty force, not on the Reserve component.²⁶ That view did not, however, adequately appreciate the importance of Reserve forces in the late 1940s.

Any peacetime military establishment, American or otherwise, had two functions, "force-in-being" and "cadre." To fulfill the former, the active duty force must, in the words of Maj. Gen. Fred Anderson, "withstand the initial shock and hold the enemy until we can launch an effective strategic attack."²⁷ In other words, the active duty force had to hold the enemy until mobilization took place. That brought into play the cadre role wherein the active duty force, primarily the Regular officers, provided the experience and senior leadership for the mobilization effort. In the late 1940s, before the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons, the American military establishment, as in the past, relied heavily on a large Reserve component to provide the first augmentation after mobilization. Hence, a high priority was assigned to the Reserve forces.

The main reason for rotating Reserve personnel on active duty was for training. All Reserve component personnel received intensive training, mainly while on active duty, to achieve initial qualification in their duties. Periodic

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active duty tours helped Reservists keep their skills honed to higher levels than possible in purely Reserve status. Thus the recall of Reserve officers to active duty and their return to the Reserve forces a few years later was merely the Air Force discharging a continuing training obligation to those components.²⁸

To fulfill that obligation, and to make up for the nonrated officer shortage, Reservists were recalled to active duty in large numbers beginning in 1948. In the absence of a state of emergency, any recalled Reservist had to be a volunteer. Fortunately, there was no shortage of those eager to get back into uniform. Letters from veterans disillusioned with civilian life and pleading for a chance to return to active duty inundated the Chief of Staff.

The actual recalls began in July 1948 and within a year had returned some ten thousand Reserve officers to the colors. Unfortunately, of the sixty thousand Reservists who volunteered for recall, over forty-eight thousand were pilots, forcing the Air Force to recall many Reserve officers whose primary skill was flying and whose qualifications to fill the mostly nonrated billets were rather dubious.²⁹

The recall was, therefore, only a qualified success; it filled out the ranks without really satisfying the specific requirement. Given the service's preference for rated officers, this was probably acceptable, but events soon blurred any long-term consequences of that preference as the Air Force became involved in a budget crisis and entered a period of severe personnel turbulence.

The Austere Budget of Fiscal Year 1950

On December 1, 1948, Defense Secretary Forrestal forwarded three proposals for the fiscal year 1950 military budget to the President. The proposals were for \$14.4 billion, which Truman favored; \$23 billion, favored by the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and \$16.9 billion, a figure Forrestal suggested as a compromise. He gave the President an additional nudge by noting that Gen. George Marshall, now Secretary of State, also favored the compromise budget.³⁰

Truman was not convinced and the following day he approved the "austere" \$14.4 billion budget. Despite Cold War tensions, the Soviet Union had no atomic weapons and, given the latest intelligence estimates, probably would not for some years to come. Until that day arrived, perhaps by 1953, Truman reasoned that a smaller military budget was an acceptable risk. He also feared that military spending would drive the budget into the red and bring on an level of inflation that would slow economic growth. Despite protests from Forrestal and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the usual political maneuvering during the Congressional approval cycle, the President prevailed.

In effect, the fiscal year 1950 budget reversed the modest growth the Air Force had enjoyed since the spring of 1947. The overall Air Force strength would have to undergo a reduction of perhaps 3,000 billets and six groups to fit

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under the budget's ceiling of 412,000 personnel and forty-eight groups. Gone were the plans for a gradual increase in strength levels to 502,000 personnel and seventy groups.³¹

The reduction in personnel was quite small, less than one percent, but that simple statistic masked a more complex problem. The fiscal year 1950 budget actually authorized an increase of 2,500 in officer strength, but limited the number of rated officers. Because the recall of Reserve officers to active duty in 1948 and 1949 attracted mainly pilots, the number of such officers grew by over 5,000 between January 1948 and June 1949. When combined with the other rated officers, the total rated force stood at just over 34,000 by the latter date and was still increasing as more pilots reported to active duty. Since the budget imposed a ceiling of 31,788 rated officers, the number of rated officers, mostly pilots, would have to be reduced while the total commissioned force was being increased.³² The truly uncomfortable fact was that, because the Reservists recalled in 1948-49 had been mostly rated, the problem was more the Air Force's making than that of the budget cut.

Looking ahead in early July 1949, Brig. Gen. Dean C. Strother, the Director of Military Personnel, recommended planning for a mandatory reduction in force (RIF) that would separate some 3,500 Reserve officers, mostly pilots, from active duty by the end of the year. He further suggested that the number of pilots recalled to active duty for the remainder of the year be sharply reduced to avoid an even more violent collision with the ramifications of the proposed budget.³³ Because the budget and the RIF were not yet official, Strother's advice went unheeded, but not for long.

On August 24, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, Forrestal's successor, outlined the full impact of the "austere" fiscal year 1950 budget to a Pentagon audience. Overall, the three services would lose 135,000 civilian billets, 12,073 Reserve officers would leave active duty, and fifty-one military installations would be closed. The Air Force's share of the personnel cuts came to 18,000 civilians and 3,129 officer billets. Virtually all the affected officers were rated.³⁴

The Air Force responded with a crash program, and six days later, on August 30, Maj. Gen. Richard E. Nugent, the Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, sent General Edwards a plan for separating the required number of officers. Each major command would get a quota of Reserve officers to nominate for separation with the final selections vested in a central board. Those targeted for separation would be, in order of priority, volunteers, officers with substandard records, overage officers, and those who had already completed three-year tours and were on three-year extensions.³⁵

The plan was approved and by mid-September some twenty-eight hundred officers, mainly pilots in the grade of first lieutenant, were under consideration by the central board. Then, Secretary Johnson let the other shoe fall. In August, the same month he announced some of the details of the economy drive, he also appointed Gen. Joseph McNarney, AMC Commander, to head the Defense

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Management Committee. The committee had the difficult task of cushioning the shock of the budget reductions while seeking still other ways to reduce military spending. In early October, the committee recommended, and Johnson ordered, that the number of pilots be reduced to twenty-four thousand by January 1, 1950. The new order meant that about thirty-two hundred Reserve officers, all pilots, in addition to the approximately twenty-eight hundred officers, mostly pilots, already under consideration would have to be separated from active duty in a period of three months.³⁶

The additional cuts only accelerated something that was already in the planning stages. The Air Force was also uneasy about the number of pilots and, fearing Congressional wrath, had tentatively planned to reduce the pilot force to twenty-four thousand by mid-1951. The committee had moved up the time table by eighteen months. Nevertheless, the new, and deeper, cuts brought protest from within the service. Any RIF was a messy, unpleasant affair, doubly so if carried out with excessive haste, as this one appeared to be. Officers selected for separation needed reasonable time to readjust their personal affairs and to arrange for a return to civilian life. The January 1 deadline meant that many would have only sixty days notice.

Acting on the advice of General Strother, Maj. Gen. William F. McKee, the Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, suggested two changes to soften the blow poised to strike some six thousand Reserve officers. Instead of separating all the officers, McKee suggested that the surplus in pilots be dealt with through a combination of separations from active duty and removals from flying status (grounding). Those grounded instead of separated would stay on active duty in nonrated positions, thereby facilitating the small increase in overall officer strength still allowed by the budget. Noting that the January 1 deadline was detrimental to good public relations and sound management, McKee further suggested April 1 as a more suitable time for reducing the pilot force to the mandated level.³⁷

Secretary Johnson accepted General McKee's proposal and moved the deadline back even further to May 31. The more lenient time limit was more a bow to reality than an act of generosity. Bureaucratic inertia had already made the January goal impossible and was threatening the April 1 deadline. Even after plans for the RIF reached "crash program" status, officers continued to report to active duty from the various procurement programs and from the Reserve forces. The number of pilots actually increased by over fifteen hundred during the last four months of 1949.³⁸

The reduction began to make itself felt only after the first of the year. In early November 1949, almost four thousand Reserve officers received their notification of separation or were grounded. The following month, the first of some three thousand additional Reservists received their separation orders to be implemented between February and June of 1950. Within the second increment, an unspecified number of officers faced the choice between separation and

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Maj. Gen. William F. McKee,
Assistant Vice Chief of Staff,
1947-1952.



grounding. Those accepting the latter option would be removed from flying status by May 1, 1950. Furthermore, advance planning for the fiscal year 1951 budget suggested that an additional five thousand Reservists would be separated or grounded to accommodate an even tighter military budget and lower manpower ceilings.³⁹

Despite the pressure from above and the effort expended from within the service, the Air Force did not achieve the reductions in pilot strength within the specified time limit. In June 1950, some 28,500 pilots remained on active duty, including 25,600 on flying status. The Air Force was still reducing its pilot force on June 25 when the North Korean Army crossed the thirty-eighth parallel into South Korea. The inertia that previously had slowed the reduction in pilot strength now worked the other way. Even though some Reserve units were mobilized in July, the number of pilots on active duty continued to decline until at least August and probably on into early September. Only then was the personnel flow reversed and the buildup begun, ultimately to levels previously unthinkable for a peacetime American military establishment.⁴⁰

* * * * *

In its first few years of independence, the young service had worked out its complex rank problem and had gotten in step with the provisions of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. Flight training was progressing satisfactorily, and overall, the procurement programs furnished officers in the numbers, if not exactly in the skills, desired.

Still, stability, one of the traditional hallmarks of a peacetime military, had not been achieved. Continuing disputes delayed implementation of officer career management until the middle of the next decade. The difficulties in SAC and R&D suggested that finding a balance between the trend toward specialization and the need for some officers with generalist backgrounds would be more

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difficult than previously supposed. The RIF of 1949–50 embarrassed those who wished to offer Reserve officers as much stability as possible in their relation with the active duty force.

It was probably inevitable that symptoms of instability would persist in a young force still adjusting to its independent status during a period when national policy had not settled on the size of the peacetime military establishment. Whatever would have been the consequences of these problems were soon overshadowed because these were also the last years of an era in American military history. This had been the world of a military whose concepts and regulations were rooted in an era when the United States, blessed with geographic isolation and weak neighbors, was secure from sudden attack. That world stirred uneasily when the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear weapon in late August 1949, and it crumbled in Korea during the last half of 1950. When the North Korean Army crossed the thirty-eighth parallel into South Korea, the dawn of a new era in American military history came with it.

Chapter Five

Personnel Policies During the Korean War 1950–1953

In August 1949, the Soviet Union stunned the west by exploding its first nuclear device, fully four years ahead of most intelligence estimates. When that capability was combined with long-range aviation, the traditional geographic isolation of the United States from a military threat suddenly seemed much less reassuring. In December, the forces of Mao Tse-tung expelled Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalists from the Chinese mainland, transforming the world's most populous nation into a communist state. In January 1950, in reaction to these events, President Harry S. Truman approved the development of the hydrogen bomb and asked the State Department, the military, and the National Security Council (NSC) to review national policy regarding the Soviet Union.

The study Truman requested arrived on his desk on April 7, 1950. Known as NSC-68, it considered options ranging from the withdrawal of American power into the Western Hemisphere (isolationism) to using America's nuclear superiority for a quick showdown with Moscow (preventive war). The more moderate option recommended, a phased increase in American military strength to thwart localized Soviet pressure while deterring nuclear war, carried an expensive price tag: \$50 billion annually over the next several years.¹

Truman did not immediately act on NSC-68. A financial conservative, he was reluctant to push for defense spending that would increase the deficit of a budget already \$5 billion in the red. Neither did he wish to burden an economy already in mild recession with a tax increase to support the buildup. Possibly, he questioned whether a single nuclear explosion constituted an immediate threat to American security. His caution was embodied in his proposed defense budget of \$13 billion for fiscal year 1951, over a billion dollars less than the "austere" fiscal year 1950 budget that was forcing the military to reduce the numbers on active duty, close installations, and deactivate units. He temporized

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by adding \$350 million dollars to his original fiscal year 1951 defense budget, but nothing more.²

Truman's caution began to evaporate on June 25, 1950. On that date, the army of communist North Korea swept across the thirty-eighth parallel that had divided the Korean peninsula into communist and noncommunist halves since the end of World War II. By June 30, the President, sure that the Soviet Union was behind the attack and determined to discourage such adventures elsewhere, had committed the American military to the defense of South Korea. He also needed to prop up the South Korean Army that was fleeing rather than fighting.³

That decision was just the first in a series. As soon as North Korea launched its attack, NSC-68 came out of Truman's desk and became the basis for general American military rearmament. With its call for a worldwide containment of Soviet power and influence, NSC-68 carried with it a demand for much higher strength levels than those already approved. Even the seventy-group Air Force, so vigorously, and futilely, pursued from 1945 to 1950, would no longer be adequate.

On July 26, the Air Staff sent the Joint Chiefs of Staff a plan calling for 58 wings* and 548,314 personnel by January 1951. In August, Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, the Air Force Chief of Staff, identified 163 wings as the long-range objective, but scaled it down to 130 wings when warned that such numbers were politically unacceptable. Before forwarding it to Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, the Joint Chiefs reduced the level still further to 95 wings, to be reached by June 1954. On September 27, Congress passed a large defense budget supplement that included, among other things, an additional 10 wings for the Air Force, raising the total to 58. By mid-November, planning was completed for another budget supplement that contained a second increase in Air Force strength, to 68 wings and over 650,000 personnel by June 1951.⁴

Once again, however, events overtook planning. On the night of November 25, massed formations of communist Chinese troops hurled themselves at the United Nations' forces, who by that time, occupied most of North Korea. Within forty-eight hours, the left flank of the U.S. Eighth Army disintegrated, setting off an allied retreat that did not end until mid-January 1951 at a point some sixty miles south of the thirty-eighth parallel.⁵

The Chinese intervention ended whatever caution Truman may still have felt. Faced with what seemed to be collusion between the two largest communist nations, he took measures that marked a critical turning point in the Cold War. On December 16, he declared a state of national emergency and approved an increase in American military strength to three and one-half million. Two weeks later, he bypassed all intermediate plans, approved ninety-five wings for the Air

* In 1949, the wing replaced the group as the basic Air Force unit. They were roughly equivalent in personnel and equipment.

Force and established June 1952 as the date for reaching that level. The enlarged Air Force called for slightly over one million personnel, including over one hundred thousand officers.⁶

Squeezing the Officer Corps for Manpower

It was against that background of a national policy in the throes of dynamic change that the Air Force began a buildup that would more than double the size of the service within two years. Achieving that goal meant placing manpower policies on a wartime footing as quickly as possible. The initial policy changes came immediately after the American military had been committed to Korea and focused, appropriately, on retaining the available manpower and redistributing it within the active duty force.

In July 1950, all officers on active duty were "frozen" in that status by denying them the right to separate or resign. Even those Reserve officers scheduled to separate as a part of the 1949-50 force reduction suddenly got a new lease on active duty life, whether they wanted it or not. All rated officers not on flying status were offered a chance to return to flying to meet the demands of the war. This including some twenty-nine hundred only recently grounded as a part of the same force reduction. Rated officers on flying status but in nonrated billets returned to the cockpit, and some went into combat within a short time. In fact, over a third of the first forty-five hundred pilots to see combat in Korea had occupied nonrated billets during their previous assignments. Their availability argued well for the practice of using rated officers in nonrated billets, but allowing them to maintain their flying skills, as an effective means of quickly supplying such officers in time of emergency.⁷

Digging deeper, the Air Staff turned its attentions to the Air Force's educational network. On July 18, 1950, Lt. Gen. Lauris Norstad, the acting Vice Chief of Staff, recommended that the service's professional military schools, managed by the Air University, be reduced and the surplus officers assigned to duties where they could help in the conduct of the war or the impending force expansion. Vandenberg agreed and ordered the suspension of the Squadron Officers School, the junior school, and the Air War College, the senior school. Other actions reduced the number of students in the Air Command and Staff College, the intermediate professional school, and slashed several other programs, notably the Air Force Institute of Technology and attendance at civilian universities. In all, over fifteen hundred officers had been freed for other duties by the end of 1950.⁸

Of all these early initiatives, only the cuts taken by the professional schools caused concern. The Army Air Forces, alone among the branches of the military, had suspended all professional military education in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, only to quickly reverse itself. Well-schooled military officers

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were in short supply, and suspending their training had only perpetuated the situation. Now, less than a decade later, the Air Staff was making the same mistake and leaving itself open to the charge that it had opted for a short-term manpower advantage to the long-term detriment of the officer corps in terms of professional education. Apparently Norstad was sensitive to that because he urged that the Air University maintain the nucleus of its school system for the time when all the professional schools would be restarted.⁹

Norstad's inclination may have been correct, but if by maintaining a nucleus he meant merely keeping the staff and instructor cadre intact, he seriously underestimated the problem. An academic institution without a student body constituted a contradiction that could not long endure. What the Air University staff feared was a quick loss of the vitality generated between students and faculty and a corresponding loss of the momentum that had marked the institution since its founding in the summer of 1946. Beyond that, the suspensions and reductions threatened directly the experienced staff and instructor cadre. They would either drift away or else fall prey to a system seeking further untapped sources of manpower. Assurances that the Air War College would reopen "sometime after January 1951" and that the suspension of the Squadron Officers School was "temporary in nature" did not answer the objections.¹⁰

The Air University's argument was persuasive and the Air Staff yielded, at least partly. On September 22, Lt. Gen. Nathan Twining, acting Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, authorized the Air War College to resume operations on January 8, 1951, but with the course length reduced from ten months to five and one-half months. Similar orders restored the Squadron Officers School shortly thereafter.¹¹

Again, however, there were problems. General Twining's order returning the Air War College to operation also directed that students be provided as much information as possible, even if it meant reducing the number of discussion seminars and cutting into study time. What happened was predictable. Inundated with guest speakers, faculty lectures, and reading assignments, a "cram course" atmosphere developed, with the students bombarded with information but without the structure that allowed them to integrate that information meaningfully.

Acting on the advice of the Air University Board of Visitors, a panel of distinguished civilian educators that monitored the Air University's many programs, Gen. George Kenney, the Air University Commander, voiced his concerns. Writing to Brig. Gen. Gabriel P. Disosway, the Air Staff Director of Training, Kenney highlighted the problems in the shortened course and requested a quick return to the longer, ten-month, program. Kenney's position quickly gained support, and on June 6, 1951, the Air War College program returned to its former length, effective in August. The motivation to secure for the future a professional officer corps, and probably a lessening of the demands

of Korea resulting from the recall of Reserve force to active duty, ended a year of uncertainty for the Air Force's professional education system.¹²

Partial Mobilization

The policy of redistributing the available active duty manpower to meet increased demands was appropriate, but of limited utility. Very few officers were available for redistribution in an Air Force that was well below the strength level it believed it needed to discharge its responsibilities even before Korea. This shortage focused attention on the only other readily available sources of trained manpower, the Air Force Reserve and the Air National Guard. The resources of these Reserve components would have to be tapped, first to meet the demands of Korea, and then as a means of augmenting the overall force buildup.

The Air Force's mission in Korea was under the control of the Far East Air Forces (FEAF), headquartered in Japan and commanded for most of the first year of the war by Lt. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer. Although FEAF was the largest of the overseas commands, Stratemeyer found serious deficiencies in his capabilities. A part of the Far East Command, commanded by Gen. Douglas MacArthur, FEAF had the airborne mission, mainly the defense of Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines. Most of FEAF's aircraft were air defense fighters with only limited offensive capabilities. The offensive operations mandated by Korea required a quick infusion of men and material. Stratemeyer requested the transfer of a light bombardment wing with B-26s, two light bombardment squadrons, and a medium troop carrier wing to his command.¹³

Indicative of the weakened condition of the Air Force, the active duty force could not satisfy Stratemeyer's modest request. In Vandenberg's own words, the service was a "shoestring force," and any supplemental forces had to come from the Reserves and the Guard. Almost all of the flyable B-26s were in Reserve units, and none were first-line aircraft. Under a plan approved by the Joint Chiefs on July 6, Stratemeyer's request was satisfied by mobilizing the Reserve 452d Light Bombardment Wing (B-26s) and the 437th Medium Troop Carrier Wing (C-46s). In addition, the Air Force, on the basis of very tentative manpower estimates, got authorization to recall to active duty an additional twenty-five hundred officers and twenty thousand enlisted men from the Air Force Reserve. These personnel were recalled as individuals, as opposed to being mobilized as a part of a unit, based on the specialty each possessed. Without the authority to as yet do otherwise, the recall was limited to volunteers.¹⁴

The results of the voluntary recall program were disappointing. The number of Reservists volunteering for active duty actually decreased after the onset of hostilities. On July 11, Lt. Gen. Ennis C. Whitehead, Commander of the

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Lt. Gen. Ennis C. Whitehead,
Commander, Continental Air Command,
1949-1951.

Continental Air Command (CONAC), the major air command responsible for Reserve affairs, warned that voluntary methods had failed. The number of volunteer pilots, he reported, was adequate, but the number of other rated and nonrated officers fell short. Worse, only one hundred enlisted personnel had rallied to the colors. At the same time, events and better planning had rendered the original estimates of manpower needs obsolete. By July 7, the day after voluntary recall began, the Air Staff had already raised the number of officers to be recalled to forty-five hundred, and the number continued to grow. Facing the issue squarely, the President, on July 19, authorized all services to begin involuntary recalls. The next day, CONAC began recalling over eight thousand company-grade officers (captains and lieutenants) and approximately forty-two thousand enlisted personnel on either a voluntary or involuntary basis.¹⁵

The institution of involuntary recall completed the actions thought necessary to meet the immediate quantitative demands placed on the Air Force by the Korean War. There were, however, other considerations that presented the defense establishment with a personnel problem beyond mere numbers. Most Reservists and Guardsmen were veterans of World War II who thought that they had already done their share for national defense. In the years since that war, the personal lives of most had changed considerably. As a rule they had become more settled since last on active duty; most had started families, taken jobs, and added to their education. Because these men had already done their duty in war, returning them to active duty proved unpopular with veterans' organizations and in Congressional circles. Their recall had to be handled with caution to minimize criticism and adverse political fallout. That was especially true in the absence of either a declaration of war or a clear threat to national survival.

On October 24, George C. Marshall, now Secretary of Defense, set down guidelines designed to lessen the impact on Reservists and bring some sort of order to recall and mobilization procedures. Marshall directed that units and

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individuals receive at least four months advance notice of a recall to active duty and have at least thirty days to report after receiving orders. The Air Force supplemented the Defense Secretary's policy by ending the involuntary recall of enlisted men; the number of recruits preferring Air Force blue to Army olive drab had skyrocketed with the resumption of draft calls. Officers could still be involuntarily recalled, but in limited numbers and only if they possessed a critical skill not available through volunteers or training sources. No one, officer or enlisted, with four or more dependents could be involuntarily recalled. Anyone wishing a delay in reporting to active duty would receive every consideration.¹⁶

Those policies lasted only until the Chinese intervention in Korea in late November and the increased demand for manpower levied by the declaration of a national emergency in mid-December. In late December, General Vandenberg requested approval from Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter to resume the involuntary recall of enlisted Reservists. Vandenberg further advised Finletter, who had replaced Stuart Symington in April 1950, that the mobilization of Guard and Reserve units would be increased to the maximum permitted by facilities and equipment. Finletter gave his approval and informed Marshall of the change, but vowed to live within the other guidelines laid down by the Defense Secretary in October. He further promised to end all involuntary recalls as soon as possible.¹⁷

Events quickly showed that Finletter was too optimistic. The number involuntarily recalled in the first quarter of 1951 was the largest of the war, with almost twenty thousand Reservists involuntarily returned to the active duty Air Force, of whom about half were officers. Many of those recalled filled vacancies in mobilized Reserve units that were below strength. In all, fifty-one wings and thirty-two ancillary units of the Guard and Reserve had been mobilized by November 1951. More than half of the Reserve wings were broken up and used to fill vacancies in regular Air Force and other Reserve units. Although technically immune, a number of Guard units also became "fillers."¹⁸

Throughout 1951, the frequent policy changes and the numbers involved brought increasing pressure from Congress and influential Reserve organizations to end involuntary recalls. Maj. Gen. Willis H. Hale, Commander of CONAC, and other officers, including Vandenberg, suggested ending such recalls and accepting slower growth to stop the continual criticism. Such pressure could not be withstood indefinitely, and legislation enacted in late 1951 limited the active duty service of involuntarily recalled officers or officers in mobilized units who desired separation to seventeen months, if a veteran of World War II, or to twenty-one months, if not. Pressure was likewise intense to return control of Guard units to the governors of their home states.¹⁹

With current and projected recruitment and training programs beginning to meet manpower requirements, the Air Force ended involuntary recalls in December 1951. Ironically, the ban on involuntary recalls came in the same

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Maj. Gen. Willis H. Hale, Commander,
Continental Air Command,
1951-1952.

month that the Air Force was ordered to expand to 143 wings and to reach that level by June 1954. Although the increase was one-third more than the previous 95 wings, the personnel figures were less formidable. Worried about a defense budget that had more than tripled in two years, the administration imposed strict manpower ceilings. The 143 wings would be manned by 1,220,000 people, an increase of only 170,000 over the figure allotted for 95 wings. Because the manpower increase was relatively small and the service's procurement programs were now turning out large numbers of graduates, the Air Force was able to stick to its policy against involuntary recalls.²⁰

Also in late 1951, the Air Staff initiated a series of plans to begin the release of some Reserve personnel. In November, all Reserve and Guard officers who had less than six months remaining until their mandatory release from active duty, who were surplus to immediate requirements, and who wished it were ordered released. In June 1952, an identical program released another group of Reservists before the expiration of their active duty commitment. The planned recall in 1952 was scaled down and limited to volunteers; in 1953, very few were summoned. By the beginning of 1953, only twelve Guard units remained on active duty, and only four remained at the cessation of hostilities in July 1953. The last Guard unit left active duty in December 1953.²¹

Problems of Reservists at War

By June 1951, the active duty officer force had climbed sharply from 54,000 to over 115,000 in just a year, and it was still climbing. The increase in some ways exceeded the service's capability to manage effectively and resulted in a number of problems among Reserve officers newly mustered on active duty. When the active duty force identified the need for officers with certain qualifications, CONAC's responsibility was to identify those officers who could best

fill the requirements and recall them to active duty. Even before the communist Chinese entered the war, greatly increasing the manpower demands, CONAC had proved unable to locate a relatively small number of Reserve officers with specific qualifications from among a pool that numbered over a quarter of a million.²²

Perplexed by the problem, Secretary Finletter asked Lewis B. Cuyler, a prominent banker and former Assistant Chief of Staff of the Army Air Forces personnel division, to investigate. Cuyler quickly reported back that the problem lay in the personnel records of the Reserve officers, many that had not been updated since World War II. Some contained little more than name, rank, and service number. He warned Finletter that the problem was strictly of the service's own making and that, unless remedied, it could undermine the confidence of the individual Reservists and the general public.²³

Nothing was particularly new in the report; in fact, Finletter should already have been aware of the problem. General Whitehead, CONAC Commander at the time, had alerted the Air Staff to the situation a year earlier. In May 1949, soon after assuming his command, Whitehead identified a serious span-of-control problem that stretched the ability of CONAC to meet the demands placed on it. Saddled with responsibility for the air defense of the United States (Air Defense Command), the offensive tactical aviation arm (Tactical Air Command), and all Reserve matters, Whitehead had to assign priorities. Reserve matters came last. He knew that Reserve personnel records were chaotic and had initiated an updating program, but it was less than 25 percent complete when hostilities erupted in Korea. After that, the increased workload completely derailed the effort.²⁴

The enormous buildup following the outbreak of the Korean War meant that CONAC's already strained resources were now hopelessly inadequate and led to a major reorganization in January 1951. Both the Air Defense Command and the Tactical Air Command were removed from CONAC and made independent major commands. Freed from its many other duties, CONAC could devote its full attention to Reserve affairs, including a comprehensive program of updating records.²⁵

In addition to the difficulty in identifying qualifications, the poor condition of the recalled Reservist's records hurt them in competing for promotions with Regular officers and Reserve officers already on active duty. In fact, the entire promotion and rank picture was reduced to a confused muddle in the year following the onset of hostilities, largely due to an uneven application of policy to Reservists. This produced rank inequities that would be a source of discontent for many years.

The promotion and rank problems had their beginnings in the aftermath of World War II. In the year following the war, the AAF released over three hundred thousand temporary and Reserve officers as a part of the general demobilization. As a gesture of gratitude and a bon voyage, about seventy-three

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thousand temporary officers who had not been promoted for what was considered an excessive amount of time received a "terminal leave" promotion. These promotions became effective at the beginning of homeward travel and ended upon arrival at the place of residence, allowing officers to greet friends and loved ones at one rank higher. Since temporary commissions ended upon arrival at home, terminal leave promotions, later known as "fluff" or "door prize" promotions, attracted little attention.²⁶

Terminal leave promotions resurfaced in 1947 when the newly formed Air Force Reserve began an aggressive officer recruitment drive to flesh out its commissioned ranks. The main targets of the drive were the recently released temporary officers. The effort quickly faltered because many of the former temporary officers wanted nothing more to do with the military, prompting the Air Force to alter the rules governing the rank of Reserve officers. By regulation, temporary officers accepting Reserve commissions got permanent Reserve ranks equal to their highest rank held on active duty. To stimulate procurement, officers with a terminal leave promotion were allowed to make the higher rank their permanent Reserve rank although technically it had not been an active duty rank. The initiative proved successful, especially in the field grades (major through colonel) where most of the Reserve officers held their rank by virtue of terminal leave promotions. Meanwhile, other temporary officers who had not received terminal leave promotions also accepted Reserve commissions, but at a rank less than many of their contemporaries, creating a rank imbalance among Reserve officers with similar experience.²⁷

The rank imbalance and the statutes governing recalled officers began causing difficulties within a year. The statutes stated that a Reserve officer who volunteered for recall could not be recalled in a rank higher than held while on active duty. Thus, a large number of the Reservists recalled in 1948 and 1949 returned to active duty at a grade less than that in which they were serving in the Reserves. Officers with a terminal leave promotion and a permanent promotion while in the Reserves took two rank reductions to return to the colors. However, since the recallees had all volunteered, the grumbling was minimal and was not a major issue.

The situation became much more complex when involuntary recalls began in July 1950. To compensate the involuntary recallees, the law required that they be recalled in their Reserve ranks, including terminal leave promotions and any promotions gained in the Reserves. Yet it seemed manifestly unfair to all concerned that the volunteer be penalized and the nonvolunteer not at all. Over fourteen thousand Reserve officers served in active duty grades lower than their Reserve ranks at the beginning of the Korean War, and their numbers grew as still others volunteered for recall. The situation had the potential to be a major morale problem if not remedied.²⁸

In the fall of 1950, an accelerated program of temporary promotions began, both to fill out the rank structure of the rapidly growing Air Force and to bring

the active duty rank of Reserve officers into alignment with their Reserve rank. Newly recalled Reserve officers were considered for promotion after as little as six months on active duty. That advantage was partially offset by the poor condition of their records, which gave Regular officers and those Reserve officers who had remained on active duty an edge in the competition. Despite the problems, by mid-1951, the number of Reserve officers serving in grades lower than their Reserve rank had declined to about thirty-three hundred, a commendable effort given the difficulties of the times. Still, it left a reservoir of bitterness among those who failed to receive a promotion. Many left active duty, but "grade-lower-than" Reserve officers who opted for a military career were still in evidence for many years to come.²⁹

Many Reservists reporting to active duty ran into yet another problem in the inability of the service to profitably employ them. In May 1951, the Deputy Inspector General, Maj. Gen. Eugene L. Eubank, visited eleven bases and surveyed over two thousand Reserve officers to determine the suitability of their assignments. He was shocked at what he found. Almost half of the pilots recalled to perform flying duties were in ground jobs, 24 percent of all officers did not have full-time jobs, 25 percent were not qualified for their present duties, and 46 percent possessed qualifications that were not being used. A captain (pilot) recalled for rated duties worked as a supply officer. To keep his rated skills intact he routinely drove four hundred miles on weekends to fly with his old Reserve unit. Another captain (observer), who had not flown since 1945, reported to Ellington AFB, Texas, for a radar refresher course, only to find that no such course existed. After two months of inactivity, and much complaining on his part, he was transferred to March AFB, California, and placed in a ground job for which he possessed not the slightest qualification.³⁰

Such conditions were due to a combination of poor records that did not adequately identify the qualifications of Reservists and the practice of recalling them to active duty faster than they could be used. Whatever the reasons, General Eubank found the situation unacceptable. The misuse, or even disuse, of personnel was bad enough; when combined with an already sensitive recall program, it had the potential for great political trouble. Eubank recommended that all incoming Reserve officers be interviewed to ensure that their personnel records were complete and to validate their qualifications for the jobs assigned. No officer could be assigned to a base unless a valid position vacancy existed or would become available within sixty days. Eubank further recommended that his proposed program be given wide publicity as a way of assuring everyone that something was being done about poorly assigned personnel.³¹

Other assignment difficulties centered around overseas tours where Reservists leveled charges of discrimination that attracted Congressional attention. They voiced particular concern at the high percentage of Reservists receiving less-than-desirable assignments at such places as Thule, Greenland. More to the point, they resented their numbers serving in Korea, where as many

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Maj. Gen. Eugene L. Eubank,
Deputy Inspector General,
1949-1951.

as 85 percent of the officers held Reserve commissions.³² The resentment spawned a satirical ballad that went, in part,

They call on the war weary pilot
they ask for the drafted young man
they send the Reserves to Korea
while the Regulars stay in Japan.³³

As with overseas assignments elsewhere, Reservists were feeling the effects of the policy that required those with the earliest "date of return from overseas" to be sent overseas first. Since most recalled Reservists had not been overseas since World War II, they were the most vulnerable for such assignments, which in many cases was, unfortunately, Korea. Regardless, almost 80 percent of all active duty officers held Reserve commissions, so the percentage in Korea was not a gross distortion, whatever the popular perception.³⁴

Part of the Reservists' grumbling undoubtedly stemmed from public disenchantment with the war. By early 1952, over half the general public surveyed believed it had been a mistake to commit the country to a bloody stalemate. President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower privately voiced similar sentiments during his visit to Korea in December of that year. Frustrated at the lack of victory, the electorate leveled a great deal of criticism at both the military and the civilian leadership. This frustration, along with his promise to end the war, helped Eisenhower capture the Presidency in 1952.³⁵

Within the Air Force, a distinct feeling had developed that rated officers no longer carried the weight they once did. It no longer meant as much to "have wings" in a service where almost half the officer corps was nonrated. The glamour and dash were gone, replaced by disgruntled Reservists, problems associated with rapid growth, and involvement in a limited war where victory seemed less and less a possibility.³⁶ One of the more overt manifestations of the

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malaise gripping the service was the rash of officers who tried to escape flying altogether by professing a "fear of flying."

The direct cause of the "fear of flying" episode was the combination of a controversial war and the recall to active duty of perhaps twenty-five thousand rated Reserve officers, many of whom had seen combat in the World War II. That combination carried with it the potential for trouble under any circumstances, more so in a time when the military image was being tarnished from both within and without.

Indirectly, the Air Force exacerbated the situation by tampering with the policies whereby officers could be removed from flying. As originally intended, an organization could temporarily suspend officers who exhibited a fear of flying, of flying certain types of aircraft, or if they simply needed time to resolve personal problems. Gradually, however, the policy's interpretation changed to mean that officers were grounded for merely professing any one of several problems, including fear of flying. That shifted the initiative to the individual, whereas the intent of the regulation was that the initiative be firmly vested in the organization.³⁷

The second major provision of the policy specified that each removal from flying status be reviewed all the way up the chain of command, with the final decision made by Headquarters, USAF. However, since the numbers were small, that part of the regulation was quietly ignored. An officer professing a fear of flying had only to face a board at base level. Many times, the board members asked embarrassing questions about the officer's patriotism or overall worth, but almost inevitably approved the grounding action. Immediately after the war began, the Air Staff ordered that the procedures for suspension from flying status be "tightened up," but in the absence of any immediate surge in the number of requests, that admonition went unenforced, at least initially.³⁸

Exactly how many officers took advantage of that "made-to-order" way out of flying will probably never be known. Until fear of flying surfaced as a major issue in early 1952, no one kept comprehensive records. As a result, the available data are fragmentary and, in some cases, contradictory. With that major caveat, table 10 represents a best estimate as compiled from several sources, although a case could probably be made for virtually any figure from five hundred to one thousand. Even if correct, the table does not identify how many had a true fear of flying, how many had what was cynically called "fear of Korea," or how many had other problems. No determination along those lines was ever made. Table 10, therefore, should be used with caution.

At any rate, the number of officers availing themselves of the fear of flying loophole began to increase in November 1951, then shot upward in January 1952. In that month, 134 company-grade officers suddenly professed a fear of flying. Half (67) were stationed at Randolph Air Force Base, Texas, and the great majority (101) were observers undergoing training for assignments to the Strategic Air Command and duties in the B-29.³⁹

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The numbers professing fear of flying were never significant, amounting to much less than a single percent of the rated force, but the trend attracted attention. It could have had a snowball effect if it had not been dealt with effectively and swiftly. The policy on fear of flying was quickly changed. Flight

Table 10

Fear of Flying Cases June 1950—November 1952

Period	Number
June 1950—July 1951	278*
1951 August	13
October	11
November	45
December	55
1952 January	134
February—May	132*
June—July	73*
August	20
September	21
October	11
November	25
Total	818

* Estimated.

Sources: ATC history, Jan. 1—Jun. 30, 1952, vol. I, p. 210; letter, Dep. D/PMP (Ives) to the chairman of an unknown Congressional subcommittee, untitled, Apr. 25, 1952, DCS/P 210.49, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Kuter to Twining, subject: Retroactive Application of Fear of Flying Policy, May 16, 1952, Twining papers, box 56, AF/CV reading file, Jun. 1952 (2), LOC; Daily Staff Digest, Jul. 30, 1952, p. 2; Nov. 10, 1952, p. 2; and Dec. 15, 1952, p. 1.

surgeons no longer simply accepted statements of fear of flying and suspended officers from flying only if they were incapable of getting into an airplane. All fear of flying cases were transferred to Scott Air Force Base, Illinois, and kept under close surveillance.

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Of all the fear of flying cases, only those of January 1952 received a systematic analysis. At least on the surface, they were a heterogeneous group. Only three of the number held Regular commissions; the remainder were recalled Reservists. Eighty-one had flown combat missions in World War II, and seventy-one wore decorations associated with service under fire. Their length of service, including both Reserve and active duty time, varied from sixteen months to over ten years. Prior to their recall, twenty-four had held jobs as professionals (engineers, teachers, etc.), twenty-three were in sales, fifteen were administrators, eleven were skilled tradesmen, a few were independent business men, and twelve were unemployed. The vast majority were married, many since they left active duty, and seventy-six had children.⁴⁰

Sensitive to charges that they were not afraid to fly, but afraid to fight, the Reservists struck back. In a letter signed "Randolph Reserves" and sent to influential Congressmen and Senators, the reluctant officers pointed out (incorrectly) that 95 percent of their group had distinguished combat records and argued (also incorrectly) that the order to fly was illegal, since flying was purely a voluntary duty.* Echoing the widespread belief that Reserve officers suffered from discrimination, the "Randolph Reserves" charged that they had been arbitrarily ordered to fly, while many fully qualified Regular officers with no combat experience performed nonflying duties far removed from the war.⁴¹

Yet it was clearly the specter of combat that haunted these men, welded them into a cohesive body, and drove them to take the stand that they did. The threat of returning to something they had previously endured was simply too much. They had faced hostile fire as younger men, free from the additional responsibility of family and the caution that comes with age and experience. Whatever youthful illusions they had harbored about combat had long since vanished in the cold, flak-torn environment of aerial warfare. They had done their duty in a war where national interests were well established and had returned home to the acclaim of a grateful nation. Now older, more settled, and faced with the prospect of combat in a unpopular war, they had neither the emotional reserves nor the will to face again the threat of violent death.

There were, of course, extremes, as might be expected in such a large group. One officer, a lieutenant, had taken flight training only to gain the skills necessary to become an airline pilot; the thought of combat had never entered his mind. A captain refused to fly following the accidental death of his small son and the subsequent mental breakdown of his wife. Yet, in the main, the Reservists interviewed told of fear, doubt, pressure from loved ones, and a desire to pursue their civilian lives without further interruption. Many had previously tried other methods of escaping from their predicament, including requests for deferments, hardship discharges, and even outright resignations.

* Only the entry into flight training was voluntary. Once rated, officers flew as their duty.

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Caught between duty and their own inclinations, they were looking for a way out. Fear of flying was their last chance.⁴²

The anguish of the men professing a fear of flying was obvious, but others were watching to see how the cases were handled. Intent on sending the proper signal, the Air Force adopted a hard line. The rising tide of such cases posed a threat that, in the words of Maj. Gen. Kenneth P. McNaughton, Deputy Commander of the Air Training Command, brought into question the Air Force's ability to fill crew positions and maintain morale.⁴³ In answer to a Congressional inquiry, Brig. Gen. Robert E. L. Eaton, the Director of Legislative Liaison, stated the official position:

Individuals who accepted commissions in the Air Force Reserves . . . did so with the full knowledge and understanding that . . . they would be ordered to active duty at any time a need should arise for their services. Those reservists who retained their flying ratings also understood that they would be expected to perform flying duties if the Air Force had a need for them in that capacity.⁴⁴

Still to be answered was exactly what to do with those officers who professed a fear of flying. That decision rested with General Vandenberg, and he found himself besieged with much conflicting advice. On the one hand, the publicity given the affair by the media generated a good deal of popular support for the Reservists. The need to avoid a public outcry seemed to place a limit on the severity of the penalty ultimately meted out. Yet the penalty could not be too light lest it encourage others to avail themselves of the fear of flying excuse.

The correct course of action appeared obvious to Gen. Curtis LeMay, the SAC Commander. Since most of the accused officers were undergoing training that would qualify them for service in SAC, his interest was understandable. LeMay had no use for officers who could not, in his words, "cut the mustard." That applied doubly to rated officers who wanted out of flying regardless of the reason. Even a single such officer was, in his opinion, a "contaminating influence," and he had, in 1949, suggested that they be dismissed from service rather than retained in nonrated duties. Vandenberg had turned the suggestion aside, but that had not satisfied LeMay, who believed that "once a rated officer always a rated officer." Fear of flying, he argued, was an attempt by fully capable officers to avoid their sworn duty; it must not be tolerated. Speaking through his deputy, Lt. Gen. Thomas S. Power, who had similar views, LeMay demanded that all officers professing a fear of flying be court-martialed as a lesson to others who might consider such a move.⁴⁵

One option apparently not considered was to judge the cases separately and on their own merits, including the use of psychiatric methods to uncover each

officer's true motivations. The differences in motivations within the group would have allowed a variety of judgments. The lieutenant who only wanted to join the civilian airlines deserved little consideration. On the other hand, the captain whose combat experiences included parachuting from one disabled aircraft, and surviving the crash landing of another, presented an entirely different case. Yet the service, in the midst of an unpopular war and beset by problems related to Reservists and rapid growth, lacked the confidence to let each case speak for itself.

Vandenberg hesitated. For the Air Force, the issue was as LeMay had framed it: officers trying to escape their sworn duty. Vandenberg favored punishment, but court-martialing combat-decorated officers on an implicit charge of cowardice promised an unpleasant spectacle and adverse publicity. As he pondered his options, events began to be dictated by those with the strongest opinions. At the insistence of LeMay, court-martial charges were brought against twelve officers in early April 1952. Six of the defendants, the "Randolph Reserves," issued a statement defending themselves and accusing the Air Force of a list of transgressions. The statement attracted a good deal of media coverage and public attention. Alarmed by the public sympathy shown the defendants, and probably uneasy about having some of the more sympathetic cases aired in a court setting, Secretary Finletter stepped in. He dropped all pending court-martial charges and ordered officers who professed a fear of flying dismissed from service, except in unusual cases.⁴⁶

The Secretary's statement left Vandenberg some room to maneuver and he finally announced the official policy on April 16. Dismissal was automatic for anyone with less than ten years' service. For those with over ten years' service, exceptions were made only in unusual instances when the individual possessed a critically needed nonrated skill. The discharges were "for the convenience of the government," meaning they were neither honorable nor dishonorable. LeMay wanted the new policy made retroactive to the beginning of the Korean War, but that was denied as a violation of the *ex post facto* principle that governs military law. Besides, the service wished to put the matter to rest as quickly and as quietly as possible.⁴⁷

Belatedly, efforts turned toward a better handling of fear of flying cases, both medically and administratively. The two categories, medical and administrative, were kept strictly separated. If a flier professed fear of flying, he got a medical examination. If diagnosed as having a psychoneurosis that manifested itself as a fear of flying, he was treated as a medical patient, grounded, and given proper psychiatric care. The treatment focused on the specific psychoneurosis and not on fear of flying since, medically speaking, there was no such thing. If the treatment proved successful, the individual returned to flying; if not, he was permanently grounded and assigned to nonrated duties. If, however, the individual did not have a disabling psychoneurosis, he was handled administratively in accordance with the procedures

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outlined by Finletter and Vandenberg. That had the effect, in many cases, of reducing fear of flying to little more than disobedience to orders.⁴⁸

Also belatedly, the handling of Reserve officers recalled to flying duties got some badly needed attention, especially after someone noticed that the majority of fear of flying cases involved Reserve officers who had *volunteered* for active duty. Probing deeper, an Air Training Command team found these men had the impression that their previous service somehow earned them special treatment. The volunteers believed they would be given ground jobs and, even if ordered to fly, would not face hostile fire. It is not hard to imagine how they felt upon receiving orders assigning them to combat aircraft. Following this discovery, all voluntarily recalled rated Reservists signed a statement acknowledging they understood that they would be assigned to flying duties with the possibility of seeing combat.⁴⁹

Once on active duty, Reserve officers had to be given more considerate treatment than before. Previously, the men had been herded along, with little effort to motivate them or to keep them informed. Good treatment would have helped those who were unsure and apprehensive, but too often their treatment had been marked by gross insensitivity. At Randolph Air Force Base, the base most closely associated with the fear of flying cases, the atmosphere had been especially tense. Sensing the ambivalence of many returning Reserve officers, the base staff had reacted badly. The operations officer publicly sneered at the mental and physical qualifications of the recallees. Addressing a gathering of Reservists, the base chaplain told them that Randolph had been a nice base until their arrival and suggested they showed far more interest in chasing women than in their military duties. Such outbursts may have temporarily eased the frustrations of the speakers, but did nothing to ease the Reservists' transition back into active service.⁵⁰

To remedy this, General McNaughton ordered an aggressive campaign to motivate the recalled Reservists toward their duties. Unit commanders were held responsible not only for the correct application of fear of flying regulations, but also for the personal well-being of those under their authority. Commanders were urged to consider the changes that had affected the individual Reservists in their years on inactive status, and at least to recognize that they were psychologically different than when last on active duty. As an additional means of emotional support, General McNaughton ordered each combat crew to be composed of men as similar as possible in terms of age, family status, service experience, and rank. The one exception was that the aircraft commander (pilot) be senior in rank as a means of augmenting his authority.⁵¹

The Air Force's program of sanctions and enlightened handling of Reserve officers quickly brought the fear of flying crisis to a close. Official correspondence on the matter dwindled rapidly and had disappeared entirely by about November 1952. Nevertheless, the sanctions against anyone professing such a fear remained in place for years after hostilities in Korea had terminated.

The Changed Status of Reserve Officers

By mid-1952, about 97,000 of the 123,000 officers on active duty held Reserve commissions in either the Reserves or the Guard. With the Air Force building toward 143 wings staffed with an officer corps of perhaps 167,000 and with no immediate plans to increase the number of Regular officers above the 27,500 approved several years previously, the active duty force would be staffed for the foreseeable future largely by officers holding Reserve commissions. Clearly, the United States did not plan to demobilize at the end of the Korean War, and just as clearly, the policy before the war that limited Reserve officers to either three or six years of active duty was out of the question. The force could neither tolerate the repeated loss of so many experienced officers nor afford the price tag for procuring and training as many as 40,000 replacements annually.⁵²

The increased importance of Reserve officers meant that policies had to allow them to make a significant, long-term contribution to the active duty establishment. The implication that Reserve officers on active duty were short-term contradictions had to change. The status of active duty Reservists had to be upgraded and made secure if they were to be kept in numbers adequate to meet active duty requirements. Most of all, Reserve officers had to be protected from capricious policies that made their active duty status more tenuous than necessary and from discrimination in promotions and assignments.

The first post-World War II legislation designed to attract more personnel to duty in Reserve units came with the passage of the Army and Air Force Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act of 1948 (PL 80-810). Among its provisions was the establishment of retirement benefits for Reservists who at age sixty had any combination of active and inactive duty totaling twenty years. However, PL 80-810 was inadequate and came at a time when Reservists did not figure prominently in the plans of the active duty establishment. The new law did not offer them any security if they wished to remain on active duty for any time longer than that traditionally served by Reservists.⁵³

Congress tried again in July 1952, with the passage of the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952 (PL 82-476), which attempted to enhance the position of the Reserve forces already hurt by the mobilization and recall demands of the military buildup. It specified seven Reserve components of the military establishment (including the Air Force Reserve and the Air National Guard), carefully regulated the authority of Congress and the Executive Branch to call Reservists to active duty, and prohibited discrimination between Regular and Reserve components in the administration of laws applicable to both.⁵⁴

The law also made a number of significant changes with regard to Reserve officer tenure. Henceforth, the commissions tendered Reserve officers would be for an indefinite period rather than for five years. Officers whose existing

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commissions were for five years had six months to accept an indefinite appointment or have their commissions terminated on the expiration date. Reserve officers on active duty who accepted indefinite commissions and who served beyond their minimum service obligation could enter into written contracts for an additional active duty period not to exceed five years. The contracts were renewable with the consent of both parties. Reserve officers were protected against involuntary separation from active duty during the term of their contracts, except in case of a mandated force reduction or for cause, such as conviction by court-martial. Except for cause, involuntary separation prior to contract expiration entitled an officer to severance pay equal to one month's pay multiplied by the number of years remaining on his active duty contract.⁵⁵

The legislation got support from both the Air Force and Reserve officers themselves. Reflecting the position of the service, the Directorate of Personnel Planning called it an adequate vehicle to keep officers with Reserve commissions on active duty for a full twenty-year career. There was never any doubt that only substandard officers would be denied renewed contracts all the way to retirement. The law also gave the service a better idea of its officer assets by allowing Reserve officers to be included in long-range plans. Slightly over 90 percent of active duty Reserve officers stated that they would accept an indefinite commission, and most wanted an active duty contract.⁵⁶

The Bureau of the Budget opposed the law. Unsure of the direction that the massive military buildup might take and unwilling to award severance pay to involuntarily separated Reservists who might have as many as four years remaining on their contract, the bureau ordered active duty contracts for Reservists limited to two years. That position was, in turn, opposed by all the military services as too restrictive and not providing Reservists with the minimum security they needed. The Air Force, for example, wanted all contracts to be at least three years, with the option of offering indefinite active duty tenure to selected Reserve officers.⁵⁷

The dispute continued until January 1954, when the budget staff and the military services reached a compromise. Even a cursory glance showed that the budget office, from an administration eager to hold down defense spending, had prevailed. The services could offer initial active duty contracts of one to five years, provided the number in each year group did not exceed 20 percent of the total contracts. In other words, 20 percent could receive one-year contracts, 20 percent two-year contracts, and so on. Officers with critical skills merited the longer contracts, with each service deciding which skills were critical. Contracts also had to be phased so that the number coming up for renewal each month was approximately equal.⁵⁸

The compromise proved highly unsatisfactory to the Air Force. The paperwork involved and the difficulty in phasing the expiration dates to the months of the year promised administrative chaos. There was also a suspicion that, in case of a force reduction, the Bureau of the Budget, to hold down

severance pay, would attempt to influence which officers were released. More important, the whole idea of limiting contracts to a specific number of years was being increasingly criticized as inadequate to attract and hold qualified officers. In fact, Maj. Gen. Emory Wetzel, Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, suggested that two-thirds of active duty Reserve officers be tendered indefinite contracts, with the status of "career Reservists." That was what the service wanted, but with the administration prohibiting long-range commitments, it was at least temporarily out of the question.⁵⁹

Deep down, the compromise also forced a choice the Air Force did not want to make. Since 1946, official policy had avoided assigning specialties varying levels of importance to attract skilled personnel into a service that had previously catered only to pilots. Given the *de facto* hierarchy of values, pilots would get the longer contracts, those with scientific and technical backgrounds the next longer, and so forth. With a less-than-subtle hint of their perceived value and a tacit understanding that they would be the first to go during a force reduction, officers offered the shorter contracts would likely not accept them, much less pursue a military career. Yet the service needed officers in every skill, even those who might be offered the shortest contracts.

The law authorized, but did not require, active duty contracts, and the Air Force elected to escape through this loophole. H. Lee White, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Management, under pressure from several Air Staff offices, notified the Department of Defense that the Air Force would not issue active duty contracts. In line with General Wetzel's recommendation, Reserve officers on active duty were, until another solution could be found, welcome to remain as career Reservists until retirement, separated for cause, or separated because of a force reduction.⁶⁰

Following up on the issue of severance pay, an intraservice committee met in early 1954 to determine the entitlements Reservists received for involuntary separation from active duty. Reporting back in October, the committee recommended that severance pay be based on the years of active duty service. Service of less than four years did not merit any compensation, four to ten years would receive a half month's pay for each year served, and eleven to eighteen years a month's pay for each year on active duty. For service over eighteen years, Reservists, like Regular officers, should be kept on active duty until retirement at twenty years, unless separated for cause.⁶¹

The committee's recommendation ultimately served as the bench mark for the enabling legislation that granted severance pay for Reservists. The legislation, which became law in July 1956, authorized Reserve officers involuntarily released from active duty for any reason other than for cause a half month's pay for each year spent on active duty up to eighteen years. Sensibly, those were the same benefits given Regular officers involuntarily separated from the service.⁶²

These first steps toward better accommodation of Reservists, mainly indefinite active duty tenure and more equal treatment, were probably about all

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that could have been done given the turbulence and uncertainties of the times. The basic weakness—the lack of legal foundations similar to that enjoyed by Regular officers under the Officer Personnel Act of 1947—remained resolved, a weakness that would haunt career-minded Reservists for many years. Until more tranquil times that allowed the military services and the government to address the problem more fully, the status of active duty Reservists remained perilous. Regular officers were humorously referred to as the “professional killers” and Reserve officers as the “Christmas help,” but it was no joke to those in the latter category attempting to pursue a military career in the face of real disadvantages.

The other legacy that came from the Korean War and from the increased use of Reserve officers on active duty had even more far-reaching implications for the military establishment. Most Reservists and Guardsmen, whether on active duty voluntarily or involuntarily, went about their duties without undue fuss and bother. However, the stress and bad publicity associated with episodes such as fear of flying, as well as public and Congressional criticism of a variety of Reserve-associated policies, raised concern about relying heavily on the Reserve components in conflicts where national survival was not an issue or even where national interests were not clearly established. A scant twelve years after Korea, another American President, perhaps because of lingering doubts, would adopt a different solution to manpower demands in a similar war in that part of the world.

The Buildup of the Officer Procurement Programs

The mobilization and recall of the Reserve and Guard personnel during the Korean War provided the quick infusion of men and material that the active duty Air Force needed to meet the early demands of expansion. Yet public and Congressional pressure to curtail, if not end, Reserve recalls and mobilization meant that recalled Reserve forces could provide only short-term relief. For the long term, the Air Force had to expand its traditional procurement and training programs to the point that those programs could provide sufficient manpower. Fortunately, in the case of officers, programs established in the late 1940s needed only to be expanded to meet the increased demand.

On August 1, 1950, the Air Training Command (ATC) was ordered to increase pilot production from three thousand to four thousand annually to support a projected expansion to sixty-five wings. Sufficient personnel were to be in training by May 1951 to meet that goal in fiscal year 1952. Concurrent with the ninety-five wings authorized after the Chinese entered the war, the goal increased sharply to seventy-two hundred per annum. Based on an expected elimination rate of 29 percent, ATC needed about ten thousand students in training by November 1951.⁶³

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The first major problem with the projected increases was a shortage of instructors and facilities. The facility shortage was alleviated when nine new pilot training bases opened by the end of 1952, and the use of civilians under the Contract Flight Training Program filled the instructors' shortage. A similar program had been successfully employed in World War II when most pilots, navigators, and glider pilots received at least part of their training from civilian instructors. Canceled in 1945, the contract system began to attract attention anew in the wake of the 1947 decision to train three thousand pilots annually. In 1948, a comprehensive study began evaluating several alternatives by which the Air Force might conduct pilot training. The study, completed in July 1949, recommended the contract system as the most cost effective. The use of civilian instructors would also free badly needed military pilots for other duties.⁶⁴

Backed by its own inclinations and the results of the study, the Air Force awarded the first civilian training contract in January 1951. The first training, by the Graham Aviation Company of Butler, Pennsylvania, began in March 1951; and by the end of the year, nine companies were under contract as a part of a long-term plan to use civilian instructors in pilot training. By 1961, almost forty-five thousand pilots had received initial (primary) training from civilian instructors.⁶⁵

Before the Korean War, the Aviation Cadet program provided the bulk (over two-thirds) of pilot trainees, with the remainder being nonrated officers or graduates of the military academies. Initially, prospects seemed bright that an expanded program could furnish the rated manpower demands of the buildup. With the return of conscription at the outbreak of hostilities, Air Force recruiting offices were flooded by those seeking an alternative to serving in the Army, particularly as enlisted men. In the last half of 1950, almost nine thousand Aviation Cadet* applications were received. In June 1951, seven thousand applications were processed, a tenfold increase over the previous June, and another three thousand qualified applicants were awaiting entry into training. So large was the response that the Aviation Cadet Selection teams, which had been recruiting on college campuses since 1948, were disbanded in March 1951 and the team members released for other assignments.⁶⁶

The influx of cadets was welcome, but to achieve the desired levels of production, the service first had to do something about the excessive washout rate that had plagued pilot training since at least mid-1949. A revised Aircrew Battery (stanine)[†] Test, introduced in 1949, failed to reduce the elimination rate to the 29 percent used for planning purposes, and the rate hovered around 50

* Although discussed largely in the context of pilot training, the Aviation Cadet Program furnished the bulk of all rated officers.

† Introduced in 1941, the stanine (short for standard nine) test was used to select those for flight training. Individuals were awarded scores from one (lowest) to nine (highest) based on potential to successfully complete the course of training.

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percent through 1950. The problem was not the testing, but the large number of cadets that resigned from the program. Between April 1949 and September 1950, almost 18 percent of the students entering pilot training tendered their resignations.⁶⁷

Obviously, some cadets entering directly from civilian life took advantage of the loophole that allowed them to resign from flight training with immunity from any further military service. This loophole may have been acceptable in a time of peace and virtually no draft calls, but clearly it now needed attention. In February 1951, General Disosway, Air Staff Director of Training, ordered all civilian Aviation Cadet applicants enlisted as privates, with a service obligation of four years. Those eliminated or resigning from pilot training would have to serve the unexpired term of their contract in enlisted status. Presumably, enlisted men who entered cadet status incurred a similar obligation, in that elimination or resignation required them to return to enlisted status for the balance of their commitments.⁶⁸

Looking further at the problem in 1950, a team from the Air Training Command found other, and more sympathetic reasons, for the resignations. Many cadets entered training expecting a life of glamour and excitement. Recruiters, anxious to meet their quotas, did little to correct that image. These naive young men received a rude shock when they encountered a world of rigorous academic and flying standards, low pay (\$105 per month), and strict military discipline. More than any other factor, those resigning complained about the extensive hazing, the product of a military that believed discipline could be developed by mental and physical abuse. Many singled out the practice of being forced to "brace" (assume a position of exaggerated attention) for long periods of time as being particularly offensive. The hazing at mealtime grew so severe that cadets were unable to eat and thus spent much of their already limited free time in search of food.⁶⁹

In September 1950, the Air Training Command ordered recruiters to present a more realistic picture of cadet life. The practice of "bracing" remained, but only in the initial phase of training, and any mealtime practice that denied cadets the time to eat was banned. The reduction in hazing and the imposition of enlisted status for resignation or elimination had the desired effect. Attrition dropped to about 29 percent by mid-1951, and continued to decline, reaching 26 percent in 1952.⁷⁰

No sooner had the resignation problem ended than the flood of civilian applicants for the Aviation Cadet pilot training began to ebb. The decline in applicants began early in 1951, but plummeted in July when armistice negotiations began at Kaesong, a small Korean village just below the thirty-eighth parallel. Many potential cadets now preferred to take their chances with the draft for a war that might well end before their conscription. The number of qualified applicants for pilot training fell to an average of less than 150 per month, only a fraction of the almost 1,000 per month needed to meet minimum

requirements. If the trend had continued, the backlog of qualified applicants awaiting training would have been exhausted by April 1952.⁷¹

Since the Aviation Cadet program furnished the vast majority of those destined for the primary (flying) mission of the service, this constituted a major crisis. The Air Staff responded with an unprecedented number of important initiatives in the six months after August 1951 (table 11). Some, such as speeding

Table 11

Responses to the Aviation Cadet Shortage
August 1951–May 1952

September	Men with prior service who were eliminated from training excused from further service. Minimum qualifying Aircrew Battery (stanine) Test score reduced from six (of nine) to five.
November	Requirement that enlisted men serve eighteen months before applying for flight training waived.
December	Applicants with two or more years of college obligated to only two years enlisted service if eliminated from training.
January	Time between testing and notification of the applicant of test results streamlined and reduced. Flight training applicants given priority handling. Minimum education level for enlisted men reduced to high school diploma. Aviation Cadet Selection teams return to campuses.
February	Minimum age for applicants lowered from twenty to nineteen.
April	Number of Aviation Cadet Selection teams increased. Minimum qualifying stanine score reduced to three.

Sources: Daily Staff Digest, Oct. 5, 1951, p. 2; ATC history, Jul. 1–Dec. 31, 1951, vol. I, pp. 43–45 and Jan. 1–Jun 30, 1952, p. 47; history, Personnel Procurement Division., Jul. 1–Dec. 31, 1951, tab A, pp. 2–4.

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up the paperwork involved in processing applicants, yielded few new applicants. Others, such as lowering the educational requirements for enlisted applicants to a high school diploma and reducing the minimum age from twenty to nineteen, had the potential to produce sizeable numbers of applicants, but, for obscure reasons, failed to do so.

The crisis was solved by two changes that made it easier to become a cadet and less traumatic in case of elimination. In December 1951, General Disosway approved a plan that allowed civilian applicants to sign a shorter service contract before becoming a cadet. If eliminated, cadets would only serve two, rather than four, years in enlisted status, the same as if drafted into the Army. Disosway reasoned that the shorter enlisted commitment was acceptable because those discharged after two years still faced four more years in the Reserve forces where they could be put to good use.⁷²

The second decision, by Lt. Gen. Laurence S. Kuter, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, in April 1952, lowered the minimum qualifying stanine score from five to three. That decision alone increased the pool of qualified applicants by a third and in conjunction with the two-year commitment for civilian applicants secured the necessary numbers of cadets. By May 1952, applications had soared to over three thousand per month; and by midyear, the backlog of qualified applicants awaiting entry into training had rebounded to a comfortable four thousand.⁷³

Paralleling pilot training was the training of other rated officers, a group commonly referred to as "observers." Modern aircraft were complex, and the larger aircraft required a variety of officer crew members other than pilots to keep them in the air. Determining the exact number of observer categories that existed in the early 1950s is difficult because the sources do not address that question directly and, besides, the categories changed frequently. A best estimate would put the number at between fifteen and eighteen. Whatever the number, virtually all fell into five major groups: navigators, bombardiers, performance engineers (responsible for controlling the engines on B-36s), electronic warfare officers (those who jammed enemy radars), and radar intercept officers (air defense interceptor radar operators who guided their aircraft to their airborne targets in all weather conditions).⁷⁴

Until 1951, observers did not possess a common denominator in their training. The training of some, such as performance engineers and radar intercept officers, was so specialized that they had no other rated utility unless completely retrained. The narrow specialization made it difficult to change from one aircraft to another or to cross-train into another observer skill.⁷⁵

To correct that weakness, a major policy change in 1952 established a core skill for all observers, and all trainees completed basic navigation to provide a common denominator for such officers. The 132 days of schooling included electronics; navigation training in dead reckoning, map reading, and celestial techniques; and sixty hours of flying. Observers then went to any of approxi-

Lt. Gen. Laurence S. Kuter,
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel,
1951–1953.



mately fifteen courses to complete their qualification in a specific skill and aircraft. The complexity of the observer career field and the fragmentary nature of the available statistics make the numbers involved difficult to determine, but at least seven thousand a year were undergoing some sort of initial or cross-training by 1952.⁷⁶

While the Aviation Cadet program met most of the rated requirements, the OCS and the AFROTC met the increased demand for nonrated officers. The OCS produced nonrated officers at the rate of about six hundred annually at the outbreak of hostilities. That figure began to climb immediately and continued to do so until the end of the war in 1953, when the production rate was over two thousand per annum.⁷⁷

The impact of the war not only changed the numbers in OCS, but also who entered the program. Prior to the war, almost 70 percent entered directly from civilian life, but that changed in the last half of 1950. Driven by the draft, young men with college educations applied for OCS in large numbers. Many others unable to gain entry into a commissioning program enlisted in the Air Force to escape the Army. That, in turn, raised the educational level of enlisted men applying for entry into a commissioning program. In March 1951, the month that the Aviation Cadet Selection teams (which also targeted potential OCS students) withdrew from college campuses, civilians were barred from applying for OCS. Henceforth, only deserving enlisted personnel, most with college degrees, were allowed to enter training.⁷⁸

By far the most important source of nonrated officers was the AFROTC program. With the declaration of a state of national emergency in December 1950, the statutes that formerly remanded all AFROTC graduates, except those volunteering for active duty, to Reserve units were overridden. Henceforth, graduates from any service's ROTC program had an active duty commitment of at least two years. The Reserves got only those officers who left active duty with time remaining on their Reserve commitments or those from each ROTC

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class who were veterans and therefore exempt from active duty, except as volunteers. By 1952, the AFROTC produced about six thousand annually for the active duty Air Force, a figure programmed to rise to as many as twenty-seven thousand per annum by the end of the decade when planning called for the AFROTC to be virtually the only officer procurement program other than the service academies.⁷⁹

The increased importance of the AFROTC to the active duty force also mandated changes in the basic policies governing the program. Through the early 1950s, AFROTC was under the control of the Continental Air Command, the command responsible for all Reserve matters. General Disosway had tried in January 1950 to have control shifted to the Air University and to have AFROTC made a part of the service's educational system. The idea was rejected by the Air Force Military Education Board because the duties discharged in the supervision of the AFROTC were administrative rather than training or educational. In other words, the prevailing opinion still viewed the AFROTC primarily as a procurement, rather than an educational, program. The idea also ran counter to the prevailing policy that placed CONAC in charge of all Reserve matters.

A year later, the war had shifted AFROTC to providing for the active duty force, and the Air University revived Disosway's idea. Struggling to manage his badly depleted Reserve forces, Maj. Gen. Willis Hale, the CONAC Commander, argued for the retention of AFROTC in CONAC, but with little vigor, merely questioning whether any real benefit would accrue from a transfer. On November 1, 1951, Gen. Idwal Edwards, now Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations, in conjunction with the Directorate of Manpower and Organization, sided with the Air University and approved the transfer of the AFROTC to that command. The transfer became effective the following August.⁸⁰

The second change was to the curriculum, in which AFROTC students received a generalized course of studies in their first two years and a mixture of general studies and specialized training in their last two. The specialized training made the individual students fully qualified in one of eight (of some twenty-five) major career fields. Graduates could discharge routine duties immediately after commissioning, but only in a limited number of career fields. That might have been acceptable when most AFROTC graduates served only in the Reserve components, but policy changes since the beginning of the Korean War had transformed the AFROTC into the largest commissioning source for the active duty force. Clearly, more flexibility was needed in assigning such large numbers of officers.⁸¹

Again, Disosway was the driving force for change. In June 1951, he proposed that AFROTC students get a generalized course of study to prepare them for service in any of the major career fields. This time all parties agreed, including CONAC, which still exercised authority over the AFROTC for another year. The task of modifying the curriculum fell to the Air University.

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In January 1952, Maj. Gen. Mathew K. Deichmann, the Air University's Director of Education, assembled a group of Air Force and civilian experts in the field of curriculum development and put them to the task. After the Air University Board of Visitors reviewed the proposed course outline in March 1952, writing the new textbooks consumed the remainder of the year. After that, a committee of civilian specialists in education appointed by the American Council of Education evaluated the new curriculum. Finally, the Air Staff approved it in July 1953.⁸²

The major change abolished the specialized training formerly given during the junior and senior years, freeing some 140 hours of instruction for use in such new courses as International Tensions (15 hours), the Art of War (20 hours), and Communications and Air Force Correspondence (25 hours) or to increase the time given to existing courses, such as Applied Air Science (from 12 to 50 hours). Other changes eliminated some purely military courses, such as publications (5 hours) and supply (8 hours). The total hours of instruction remained virtually the same (about 480), but the new curriculum had a more traditional academic flavor and offered instruction across a broader spectrum than the previous curriculum.⁸³

When combined with the policy changes governing the other procurement programs, the modified AFROTC program quickly began generating newly commissioned officers in numbers not seen since the first part of 1945. By 1953, if not earlier, the combined output of the various commissioning programs was probably about fifteen thousand per year, with at least half coming from the AFROTC and most of the remainder from the Aviation Cadet program. The majority entered some sort of flight training as the Air Force busily built up its rated cadre at the same time it aggressively increased overall officers' strength toward a goal of over one hundred fifty thousand. By 1953, the commissioning programs were capable of meeting both goals, ending the dependency on Reserve and Guard personnel for manpower requirements.

* * * * *

By the end of the Korean War, the Air Force had largely resolved the immediate problems associated with partial mobilization and the melding of large numbers of Reserve officers into the active duty establishment. The end of involuntary methods in 1951, the early release of many individuals and units to quiet public criticism, and enlightened personnel policies had eased some of the strain associated with rapid growth. Most important, the concept that Reserve officers would play a much more prominent role in the force had engendered efforts to better accommodate such officers.

The rapid growth raised the force level to over nine hundred thousand by the end of the war, including over one hundred twenty-five thousand officers. Attaining these levels was mostly a matter of gearing existing systems to a

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wartime task, but long-term difficulties lay just ahead. The end of fighting in Korea did not mean that, as in previous times, the military would return to its traditional peacetime role as a small standing establishment forming the core for future mobilizations. The era of the large standing military was already a fact when the guns fell silent in Korea, but the military establishment had to deal with the ramifications of that larger size, with little in the previous American experience to guide the process.

Part Two

The Era of the Large Peacetime Military 1954–1973

The end of hostilities in Korea was not marked by a general demobilization. Rather, 1954 ushered in a large peacetime military establishment, an entirely new phenomenon in American history. The reliance on nuclear retaliation as the backbone of the nation's defense, both as a cost-cutting measure and as a hedge against again becoming involved in another war like Korea, made the Air Force the major beneficiary of the emphasis on military preparedness during the 1950s. Indeed, by 1957 the Air Force commanded half the military budget as it soared to 137 wings and almost a million personnel. That peak of influence and power proved to be of short duration, as both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations began moving away from strategic retaliation as the cornerstone of national defense toward a mix of nuclear and conventional forces.

In personnel matters, the great changes of the period served to continue the instability and turbulence that had begun in 1940. The new personnel system, so carefully fashioned in the late 1940s, could not respond adequately to an era that seemed to be simultaneously on a peacetime and a wartime footing. Disruptive budgetary cycles, alternations in national policies, and trouble with Congress only added to the turmoil. Every major personnel category, be it procurement, training, rated management, promotions, retention, or retirement, felt the hand of policies that reflected expediency as much as solid management. Only in the late 1960s did management theories, supported by an increasingly, if not entirely, sympathetic Congress, began to catch up with the demands of the times.

Chapter Six

Policy Development in a New Era 1954–1960

With the signing of the armistice in Korea, the United States, for the first time in its history, did not demobilize following a conflict. Within the Air Force, strength levels declined only slightly, from about 950,000 to just over 885,000 during the last half of the year. The decline was, however, short-lived as the service began to build toward a peak strength of about 975,000 and 137 wings in mid-1957. The era of the large peacetime military had arrived.¹

In terms of officer personnel, the emphasis began shifting away from purely quantitative issues toward dealing with a host of problems never before faced by the American military. For example, officers in unprecedented numbers had to be tendered Regular commissions to meet the long-term needs of a service destined to remain at high-strength levels for the indefinite future. Retention became a problem for the first time in a military that needed strength levels comparable to wartime, but, unlike in wartime, did not have the authority to hold anyone past their initial obligation. Peacetime promotions, formerly limited almost entirely to the permanent system, had become a hopeless muddle as a result of temporary promotions initiated without adequate controls during the Korean War. Overshadowing the attempts to meet these new demands were a lack of precedent in American military history, legal statutes that hindered the process as much as they helped it, and a new administration whose national defense policies generated their own brand of turbulence.

The national defense policies in question came about in November 1952, when the Republican Party, headed by President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower, captured the White House and both houses of Congress for the first time in two decades. Eisenhower had won his electoral victory based largely on his pledge to end the long-stalemated war in Korea and to strengthen the nation's overall military posture vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. The new administration's approach

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to defense management, when combined with the truce in Korea a few months later, signaled a slowing of the military's "growth spurt" that began in 1950.

The "New Look," as the administration dubbed its policy, relied heavily on America's nuclear superiority as the backbone of the nation's defense, as had the Truman administration. The new policy was also seen as a guarantee that the United States would not again become bogged down in bloody, indecisive, and unpopular "brush fire" wars such as Korea. The Air Force benefited from the nuclear emphasis at the expense of the other services, particularly the Army. By 1956, the Air Force share of the defense budget had risen from 39 to 48 percent, while its manpower exceeded the Navy's by some one hundred thousand and about equaled that of the much reduced Army. By 1958, the assets of the Air Force exceeded those of the fifty-five largest American civilian corporations combined.²

Still, the New Look turned out to be far from a blank check for the Air Force. It did not establish long-term milestones, as the Truman administration had in mandating a 143-wing Air Force by mid-1954. Instead, the new guidance called for the American military to "get ready and stay ready" to discharge its responsibilities. Actual military needs would be examined on a continuing and frequent basis, with strength adjustments made as deemed necessary. In perhaps its first major application of the New Look policy, the administration decided in April 1953 that the Air Force did not need the planned 143 wings to accomplish its mission. With Eisenhower's approval, the New Look placed a ceiling of 120 wings on the service. Displeased with what it perceived as poorly managed growth, the administration also cut five billion dollars from the Air Force budget and ordered the approved 120 wings fleshed out before any further buildup would be considered. That decision set the stage for another round of difficulties with the Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps, an officer procurement program still struggling to live up to its potential.³

The New Look, Another RIF, and the AFROTC Conversion

The latest difficulties with the AFROTC stemmed from decisions made in early 1951 when Maj. Gen. William McKee, the Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, approved the long-range program calling for AFROTC to produce 27,500 graduates annually, beginning in 1956. That production figure represented very nearly the total number of officers needed annually to meet the needs of an active duty force of slightly over a million and a Reserve component of just less than half a million. All these officers would have college degrees, an important consideration for a military service driven by technology and by the need for officers with academically based skills. The Officer Candidate School and Aviation Cadet programs would shrink to token status, sufficient only to provide deserving enlisted personnel the means of obtaining commissions.⁴

Numerically, the ROTC programs of all the services enjoyed considerable success during the Korean War. The desire for draft deferments and the chance of obtaining a commission drove 20 percent of all male college students into some form of ROTC by 1953. In the fall of 1952, AFROTC alone enrolled 125,000 cadets on 209 campuses. For the program to work properly, not only the numbers had to be correct, but the service also had to use AFROTC graduates profitably, and wherever it wished. That had been the major driving force behind the 1952 decision to offer a more generalized curriculum to AFROTC cadets, making them eligible for service in any career field. Previously, cadets had received a specialized course of study that better qualified them, but only for service in a small number of career fields. The curriculum change did not, however, entirely solve the problem.⁵

The AFROTC did provide college-educated officers, but, continuing a trend apparent since 1948, not college-educated *rated* officers. In 1951 and 1952, only 2,400 of 16,400 AFROTC graduates (14 percent) volunteered for flight training in the face of a goal of 60 percent. The response to flight training had been so poor throughout AFROTC's brief history that, despite long-range plans for large numbers of the program's graduates to enter flight training, those agencies responsible for actually procuring flight trainees could not count on the AFROTC for more than a token contribution.⁶

Since entry into flight training was strictly voluntary, there was no way to turn AFROTC students toward rated duty other than applying motivational pressure and offering enticements. The initial response to the problem tried motivation. Under a program approved in November 1952 by Maj. Gen. Morris J. Lee, Director of Personnel Planning, cadets got a heavy dose of proflying propaganda during their last two years of training, supplemented by orientation rides in training aircraft during the summer encampment between the junior and senior years.⁷

Some AFROTC cadets avoided flying because of pressure from loved ones, particularly mothers, who stressed the dangers of flight. Most, however, wished to avoid the longer active duty commitment for rated (four years) than for non-rated officers (three years). They had no interest in a military career and simply did not wish to miss for any longer than necessary the opportunities offered to college graduates by the civilian world. They had taken AFROTC only to satisfy the minimum service obligations as officers while avoiding the draft.⁸

The Air Force could not control pressure from loved ones, but could change the service obligation associated with flight training, and reducing it became the second part of the program to attract more AFROTC cadets into the ranks of fliers. Maj. Gen. Norris B. Harbold, who succeeded General Disosway as Director of Training, recommended that the service commitment for rated officers be reduced to two years after completion of flight training, which equated to about three years total service. General Kuter, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, approved this suggestion in early 1953, and it was on the shorter

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by late 1955. Under the New Look, the increase in officer strength had to be cut to near zero by the end of 1953 to stay within the mandated ceiling.¹⁶

There were two obvious ways to deal with the problem: reduced procurement of new officers and separation of Reserve officers via a reduction in force. The service instinctively shied away from the latter alternative; the trauma of the RIF in 1949 and 1950 remained fresh in everyone's memory, and a repetition would have come at a time when the Air Force was trying to offer the increased job security necessary to motivate Reserve officers toward active duty careers. That left reduced procurement as the more attractive choice, and it received the early attention.

In early May, General Lee took the first steps by reducing the recall of Reserve officers from about three thousand to eleven hundred for the remainder of fiscal year 1953 and all of fiscal year 1954. All the recallees would be rated. Later actions severely limited the numbers given direct commissions (mostly medical officers) and slashed the annual production of OCS from two thousand to five hundred. At the same time, an often announced, and often postponed, plan to increase pilot training to ten thousand annually was canceled entirely.¹⁷

Beyond those actions, however, opportunities to reduce the influx of new officers were limited. The Air Force could not tamper with the three to four hundred graduates from the service academies, a number that was both numerically insignificant and a matter of interservice accord. Reality and legality constrained the ability to maneuver and cut in the Aviation Cadet and AFROTC programs, the two largest procurement programs. The reality was that the Aviation Cadet program annually furnished approximately two-thirds of the trainees for flight training, and since the need for rated officers had not diminished, Aviation Cadet production could not be reduced. The legality was that the Air Force signed contracts with all AFROTC cadets before they enrolled for the last two years of that program. The contracts, awarded on a competitive basis, bound the service to grant the holders commissions as second lieutenants after they completed four years of AFROTC. That meant, by law, over twelve thousand AFROTC graduates would be eligible for active duty after June 1954. To compound the numbers problem, most opted for nonrated duties where the need for officers had declined.

In a memo dated May 27, 1953, facing up to the reality and the law, H. Lee White, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Management, ordered General Vandenberg, the Chief of Staff, to begin planning for a RIF. Three weeks later, Lt. Gen. Emmett O'Donnell, who succeeded Kuter as Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, approved the RIF plan and sent it to Vandenberg and White. Three days later, O'Donnell sent a message to all major command commanders informing them of what to expect.

The plan proposed for the RIF had three phases. Phase one would release all involuntarily recalled officers from active duty if they so desired, and phase two would remove ineffective or substandard officers. An officer could be placed in

Lt. Gen. Emmett O'Donnell,
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel,
1953-1959.



the latter category if he had one or more substandard efficiency reports since June 1950, a derogatory information file, or was specifically identified by his commander as being substandard. The first two phases accounted for about 4,500 officers, and phase three would then have to eliminate an undetermined number of acceptable, but surplus, officers to fit under the lowered manpower ceiling. The boards selecting those for release would have to complete their deliberations by the end of July. The commanders could then file actions to retain individual officers on active duty. After that, officers selected for separation would be released with a minimum of sixty days notice, but all would be gone by the end of the year.¹⁸

The RIF plan would have forced the Air Force to make some very bad trades. Reserve officers with a single poor mark on their records, or even no poor marking, would have been forced out of the service mainly to accommodate an influx of over twelve thousand AFROTC cadets in the summer of 1954 who were surplus even before their commissioning, both in terms of numbers and the nonrated fields most had selected. At the request of the Air Staff, White approached Dr. John A. Hannah, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel, with a request to deny commissions to the June 1954 AFROTC graduates. Aware that an uproar would greet such a policy, Dr. Hannah denied the request, ruling that all contracts would be honored. He also rebuffed a later request that all nonrated officers be voluntarily released after eighteen months service because it violated the principle that all able-bodied young men had active duty obligations of at least two years.¹⁹

The number of officers to be separated during the upcoming RIF was estimated to be between ten and sixteen thousand, about 8 to 12 percent of the active duty officer force. Ironically, the median figure of thirteen thousand was almost exactly the number of AFROTC cadets entering service after graduation in 1954. It meant exchanging AFROTC graduates and active duty officers on virtually a one-for-one basis. Alarmed at the magnitude of the RIF, General O'Donnell

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went to White on July 1, 1953, with yet another idea to sever the Gordian knot formed by the RIF, the AFROTC, and the Aviation Cadet Program. He asked White to secure permission to call only those AFROTC cadets to active duty who volunteered for flight training and to send the remainder directly into the Reserves. That would eliminate unwanted nonrated officers and reduce both the number called to active duty and the number separated by the RIF. The plan, he believed, could be defended on the basis of military need.²⁰

White, also alarmed by the projected size of the RIF, found merit in the proposal and promised to place it before Dr. Hannah. However, instead of seeking a one-time exception to the policy that all ROTC graduates must serve on active duty, he asked that the AFROTC be designated as a commissioning source for both the active duty and Reserve forces. That would allow the diversion of graduating seniors into whichever component needed them.²¹

Still unwilling to defend a policy that allowed some cadets to escape active duty, Hannah denied the request. Nevertheless, he too was worried about the reduction and was willing to be flexible in seeking a solution to the problem. On July 29, he convened a meeting in his office that included White and Maj. Gen. Emery S. Wetzel, Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel. Hannah agreed to allow the Air Force to disenroll all AFROTC Cadets before their senior year if they did not volunteer for flight training. In addition, cadets graduating in June 1954 could be called to active duty any time in the next year, a move designed to allow their assignment to flight training throughout the period.²²

Moving quickly, the Air Force gave the AFROTC cadets, then in the middle of the summer encampment between their junior and senior years, the choice of volunteering for flight training or resigning from the program. Many resigned rather than accept rated duty, but there was an immediate uproar that echoed all the way to the halls of Congress. Local military commanders found themselves besieged by parents irate at the arbitrary nature of the choice forced upon their sons, parents who showed no interest in nicely reasoned arguments about the needs of the service. Congress was highly critical of the episode, and even groups normally supportive of the military protested the Air Force's arm-twisting methods. Just as quickly as it had been imposed, the choice forced upon AFROTC cadets was withdrawn, and all cadets were allowed to enroll for their senior year. The paperwork of those who had resigned was tidied up by attributing the resignation to "administrative error."²³

Chastened, the Air University, as the supervisor of the AFROTC, went to work on a new plan to reorient the program. The new plan was forwarded to all AFROTC units on September 11, in sufficient time for implementation before the beginning of the academic year. The plan divided senior cadets into two categories, those who would accept and were qualified for flight training and those who would not accept or were unqualified. Commissions would be awarded in accordance with the needs of the service. At least 83 percent of those selecting flight training would receive a commission. Conversely, cadets destined for

nonrated duties had much less than an even chance of being commissioned. Those not selected for a commission would get Certificates of Completion entitling them to a commission in a Reserve (not active duty) unit, but only after they spent two years as enlisted men in any branch of the armed services. It allowed the service to manage the number of cadets entering active duty; converted the AFROTC into a major source of flight trainees; commissioned all graduates, thereby honoring all AFROTC contracts; and, in accordance with policy, made all graduates spend at least two years on active duty.²⁴

Again came an uproar, particularly the next spring when those receiving Certificates of Completion were announced. The plan fulfilled the letter of the contracts signed by all advanced AFROTC students, but clearly departed from the spirit of those contracts. Again, the service had to answer questions from Congress, college officials, and angry parents. Attempts to rationalize the enlisted service of those receiving Certificates of Completion as "apprenticeships" in fields related to college majors proved ineffective. To those protesting the system, a Certificate of Completion constituted a breach of faith that raised serious questions about the Air Force's ability to honor its commitments.²⁵

Despite pressure and protests, the service stood its ground with backing from the Secretary of Defense. Of the AFROTC class of 1954, about seven thousand entered flight training and another one thousand, mostly with engineering or scientific backgrounds, became nonrated officers. The remaining cadets, numbering about forty-six hundred, were scheduled to get Certificates of Completion.²⁶

Just as things looked bleak for the Air Force and its reputation, help arrived from the Air National Guard, whose squadrons of airborne interceptors formed the reserve pool for the Air Defense Command. In the midst of a buildup, the Guard, which numbered some fifty thousand personnel, announced it could use most of the surplus AFROTC graduates to fill positions in a wide variety of nonrated duties. Under an agreement quickly worked out, those AFROTC graduates scheduled to receive Certificates of Completion were offered the option of accepting Guard commissions and serving three years on active duty for purposes of training. About thirty-three hundred accepted and reported for active duty during the following year. About thirteen hundred remained in excess of the Guard's needs and received Certificates of Completion and either took their chances with the draft or volunteered for enlisted status.²⁷

Taken together, the actions cut the numbers coming on active duty by some six thousand, but the RIF still had to account for about eleven thousand Reserve officers to stay under the ceiling. Almost two thousand involuntarily recalled Reservists wished to separate, and almost seven thousand more were identified as substandard; but to reach the required level, over two thousand additional competent officers would have to be released.²⁸

The new Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, was not pleased with the public relations cost associated with involuntarily separating competent officers.

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In a meeting on August 19, 1953, he ordered their release deferred and the exploration of other avenues to secure the desired numbers. That led to an expansion of the categories of officers who could voluntarily accept separation from active duty. The new categories included voluntarily recalled Reservists who wished to be separated and officers who had incurred an additional commitment for such things as schooling, but who had served at least two years on active duty.²⁹

The liberalized policy tripled the number volunteering for release from active duty, thereby achieving the numbers needed. In the end, nearly twelve thousand officers were separated. About half were volunteers, and most of the remainder had substandard records. Combined with the reductions made elsewhere, the Air Force achieved an almost zero growth in its officer corps. The number of officers stood at 128,454 when the New Look was announced in April 1953, and only three hundred more were on active duty in mid-1954. This had been accomplished without executing the third phase of the RIF plan, which called for the elimination of competent, but surplus, officers.³⁰

The Decentralized Beginning of Career Management

With the procurement crisis engendered by the New Look policy resolved, the service could now concentrate on the long-range problems associated with a large peacetime military. The still unresolved issue of officer career management was one such problem. In the late 1940s, major commanders had resisted both the concept of career fields and centralized assignment policies, and in the early 1950s the Korean War siphoned away almost half the staff officers working on the program. Still, work on officer career management never really stopped; it was too important to lie fallow. By the end of 1950, the Directorate of Training had assigned all specialties to major career fields, developed a tentative grade structure within each career field, and begun to write the individual job descriptions. In May 1951, Maj. Gen. William McKee, the Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, established October 1951 as the kickoff date for the major portions of officer career management. By July 1951, the number of career fields had been stabilized at twenty-five, job descriptions had been written, preliminary coordination of the plan had been completed, and procedures to print and publish relevant documents had been developed. For a time General McKee's timetable seemed realistic.³¹

Again, however, difficulties arose. The goal that officers receive assignments outside their primary career fields to broaden their horizons in preparation for higher responsibility remained unchanged. On the other hand, by no stretch of the imagination could anyone sample more than a few of the almost two hundred specialties and twenty-five career fields except in the most superficial manner. Career broadening needed realistic limits and some type of logic to

achieve its objective and to guide those seeking assignments outside their primary career fields.

Under a new approach, every major career field had designated for it other, supposedly related, fields that, taken together, constituted a "career area." For example, an officer with Comptroller as the major career field would be eligible for periodic assignments to any of five other fields, such as personnel or resource management, that made up the career area for Comptroller. A rated officer would have Operations as the major career field, but jobs outside of Operations would be slightly different. If assigned to Supply, an officer could also have duties in the fields that made up the career area for Supply, such as Transportation or Production Management.³² Thus the rated officer, in the example given, would have supply and its related fields as a career area.

Another stumbling block was the unresolved argument over who should exercise the responsibility for overall career management. In 1949, General Vandenberg, the Chief of Staff, had given the major commanders authority to direct the assignments of their officers as a legitimate prerogative of command, but his decision had not ended the controversy. Because assignments and career management were very much related, and because officers remained in the same major command for most of their careers, the major commanders demanded more power.

The Air Staff capitulated in early 1954 by stating publicly that the major commanders had responsibility for the career development of their subordinate officers. Having given up assignment authority in 1949, it was a natural consequence of that earlier decision. Still not satisfied, the major commanders insisted on even more authority and, continuing the trend of the past few years, they had their way. In 1955, the Air Staff agreed to limit its own role to making general policy while giving to the major commanders virtually a free hand to manage the careers of the officers in their commands.³³

Through it all, Air Force Manual (AFM) 36-1, first published in January 1953, gave career management some continuity. That single, comprehensive document contained job descriptions for each of the approximately two hundred officer specialties, the Air Force Specialty Code for each, educational requirements, criteria for earning the AFSC, and the rank structure for each career field. It spelled out in detail how to discharge the duties for each job.

For example, in the Armaments career field (AFSC 32XX), an officer exercised responsibility for conventional and nuclear munitions, guided missiles, and rockets from assembly through loading and modification to disposal. Three of four basic specialties dealt with conventional weapons and had a top grade of major; the fourth specialty dealt with nuclear weapons, a more demanding and responsible job, and had a top grade of lieutenant colonel. Supervisors (AFSC 3216) held the grade of colonel and had to have either experience or schooling in both conventional and nuclear weapons before assuming their duties.³⁴ Specific qualifications for the supervisory position

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included the desirability of a bachelors degree, proficiency in mathematics, experience in one of the operating specialties of the career field, completion of advanced armaments training, and the physical qualifications for flight duty.³⁵

This format was essentially the same in all the other career fields and officer specialties. A comparison between a 1955 copy of AFM 36-1 and the same manual from the mid-1980s shows very little change. Both format and content were virtually identical, suggesting that, despite all the subsequent changes made to officer career management, the basics of classifying specialties and designing career patterns had been reasonably well thought out at the beginning.

The establishment of career management, albeit different than the centralized management planned in the late 1940s, was important because it imposed order on the virtually unlimited number of ways officers could pursue careers. At the same time, it allowed officers to make the plans necessary to advance in their chosen field. That was particularly advantageous in the mid-1950s because thousands of Reserve officers became eligible for Regular commissions, which virtually guaranteed a military career, as the Air Force more than doubled the size of its Regular force.

The Buildup of the Regular Officer Force

The arrival of the large peacetime military had made the ceiling on Regular officers obsolete since the services needed to attract and hold many more capable officers to form the core of the active duty forces. However, Congress had not seen fit, despite the growth of the military, to increase the number of Regular officers above the levels approved in early 1950. That limited the Air Force to only 27,500 Regular officers of a total officer force of some 130,000. Since one of the main inducements to a military career was a Regular commission, which carried with it such benefits as higher promotions rates and greatly increased security vis-a-vis what Reserve officers could expect, the 27,500 figure was too small to attract the numbers of qualified officers the service needed. Worse, the service had filled most of the Regular officer billets between 1946 and 1949, leaving little opportunity to award such commissions thereafter. From 1949 to mid-1955, only about 2,500 Regular commissions were tendered, most to graduates of West Point and Annapolis. In March 1954, the Air Force considered seeking Congressional permission to exceed temporarily the ceiling on Regular officers, but the idea never got past Secretary of Defense Wilson, probably because he awaited the outcome of the annual adjustment in overall military strength under the administration's New Look policy.³⁶

Conditions became more favorable toward the end of 1954, when the administration increased the Air Force from 120 to 137 wings and raised the ceiling on officers to almost 140,000. In October of that year, Carter L. Burgess, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Management, ordered the

Army and Air Force to develop legislation to secure the number of Regular officers each needed.³⁷

The Air Staff's early deliberations centered on how many new Regular officers to request or, more to the point, what approach to use when seeking Congressional approval for the increase. One suggestion placed the number at 5 percent of all active duty personnel, or about 45,500 Regular billets for the Air Force. The other suggestion raised the number of Regular officers to half the total active duty officer strength. That equated to 69,425 Regular billets, based on a projected July 1, 1956, officer strength of 138,850. Since Congress had approved the "50-percent solution" in the 1950 increase to 27,500 Regular officers, it became the basis for the proposed legislation.³⁸

The only problem came from the Bureau of the Budget, the financial watchdog of the executive branch. The budget office raised no objections to either a 5-percent or a 50-percent solution, but wondered if the ceiling on Regular officers would fluctuate with personnel strength. The budget office actually wanted to know if the services planned to cut the number of Regular billets if future personnel ceilings were reduced. Both the Army and the Air Force gave strong negative responses. The need to bring increased stability and job security to a military rocked by fifteen years of severe personnel turbulence argued for a firm number of Regular billets. The Air Force favored as few as 35,000 Regular billets rather than accept a fluctuating ceiling.³⁹

The concerns voiced by both sides, the Bureau of the Budget on the one hand and the two services on the other, led to a compromise. The draft legislation increased the number of Regular billets to 50-percent of the total officers, but both services accepted interim 40 percent ceilings as a buffer against the possibility of future cuts in Regular officer strengths. That forced the Air Force to adopt a different augmentation schedule. Instead of reaching 55,540 Regular officers in 1957 and 69,425 as soon as practical thereafter, the objective became 50,000 in 1958 and 55,540 in 1963. By that time, the long-term size of the Air Force would presumably be clearer and a decision could be made on further augmentation toward the 69,425 ceiling, but only after obtaining presidential approval.⁴⁰

Drafting the Air Force portion of the legislation fell to the Directorate of Personnel Planning. The legislative package, which increased Army Regular officer strength to 49,500, was completed in December 1955. The President publicly endorsed it the following month and Congress enacted it on July 20, 1956, as Public Law 737, 84th Congress (PL 84-737), the Armed Forces Regular Officer Augmentation Act of 1956. PL 84-737 was a brief document (the Air Force portion was less than four pages) and virtually an addendum to the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. The new law differed significantly only in the number of Regular billets and in a special provision that authorized the Secretary of the Air Force to credit individual Regular officers with up to two years service beyond that which they had actually served.⁴¹

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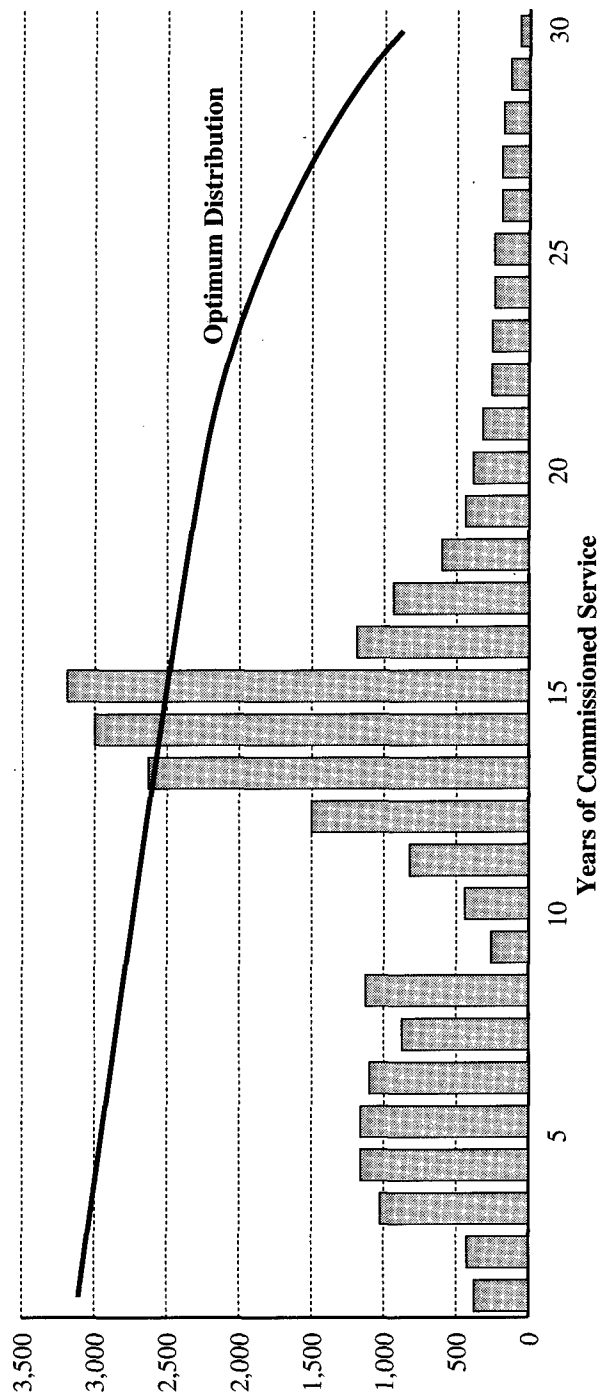
The reason for the special provision was the difficult problem presented by the distribution of Regular officers, and all officers for that matter, in terms of years of service. Virtually all those tendered Regular commissions in the late 1940s had entered the service between 1942 and 1945. The Air Force had used a special provision of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 to promote in one shot large numbers of officers,* who otherwise would have been first lieutenants, throughout the rank structure. However, little had been done about length of service, which remained the same regardless of rank. As a result, by 1957, the Regular officer structure, in years of service, had assumed the profile shown in figure 2. Even before any augmentation under the new legislation, the hump of officers with thirteen to fifteen years of service, nearly a third of the Regular force, already matched or exceeded the optimum distribution of the much larger 69,425 force. Uncorrected, the Regular officer structure would have become increasingly top heavy, threatening permanent promotions by swamping the upper rank structure with excess officers. This top-heavy profile limited choices to either distorting further the hump during the upcoming augmentation by granting Regular commissions to those year groups that already equaled or exceeded the optimum profile or not granting any Regular commissions at all to officers in those year groups.

Neither choice was desirable, and the special provision for service credit gave some relief by redistributing part of the hump years into less populated year groups. In late 1957, Secretary of the Air Force Donald Quarles ordered adjustments to the service dates of some twelve thousand Regular officers, adjustments that ranged from a few days to two years. For example, permanent colonels and lieutenant colonels commissioned in 1941 received 1939 service dates, thereby moving them from the group with fifteen years to the one with seventeen years. All other officers with a 1941 service date received 1940 dates, moving them from fifteen to sixteen years. In all, eight different groups with thirteen to seventeen years of service had their service dates adjusted. In extreme cases, some groups had more than half their officers distributed elsewhere. More important, all hump years were reduced enough to allow at least some new augmentees to be appointed within those groups without further distortion of the optimum rank structure.⁴²

In the meantime, the actual process of selecting nearly twenty-five thousand new Regular officers began in late 1956 and continued for the next eighteen months. Following a heavy publicity campaign, slightly more than fifty-nine thousand Reserve officers, somewhat less than the number anticipated, applied for Regular commissions. The number in each group remained fairly substantial up to the fourteenth year of service, marking the beginning of the World War II buildup, after which it dropped off sharply. A single officer with twenty-

* See chapter 3, especially table 6, for an explanation of the "one-shot" promotions.

Figure 2
Years of Service-Regular Line Officers
 1956



Sources: *AF Times*, May 12, 1956, p. 14; graph: USAF Regular Officers-Optimum vs Inventory, undated, ACC 62A-1391, box 2, Regular AF Augmentation-1958 (general) folder, RG 341, WNRRC.

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one years of service (1935) applied. Reserve officers not on active duty entered the competition in year groups that had too few applicants.⁴³

Faced with the enormous task of evaluating almost sixty thousand records, General O'Donnell ordered the major commands to screen their respective officers as a means of cutting down the Air Staff's workload. In doing so, he also continued the policy, already established in assignments and career management, of allowing the major commands a prominent role in officer personnel matters. Convening boards in October 1956, the major commands awarded applicants a numerical score and placed them in categories ranging from "outstanding" (category 1) to "not recommended" (category 4).⁴⁴

With the results of the major commands' screening in hand, the Air Staff proceeded cautiously because the screening was badly flawed. In fact, incorporating the major commands in the process probably was due as much to their demands for a role in personnel matters as to easing the workload. The major commands were rivals who inflated the ratings given their respective officers in a blatant effort to secure as many Regular billets as possible. The members of the central selection boards, although drawn in part from the major commands, had to be more objective. Command loyalties had to be subordinated to the quest for the best officers. Finally, the many central boards making the final selections had to be reasonably consistent; one board could not place undue emphasis on education nor another rely totally on efficiency reports.

During a trial run in December 1956, mock selection boards examined a representative selection of eleven hundred Reservists seeking Regular commissions. The results were then analyzed, the selection criteria validated, and the guidance furnished the various boards modified to ensure consistency among boards. The selection criteria used did not markedly differ from those used by past promotion and Regular officer augmentation boards. Efficiency reports remained the most important evaluation tool. Other measurement devices included awards and decorations, education, derogatory information, and participation in Reserve affairs while not on active duty.⁴⁵

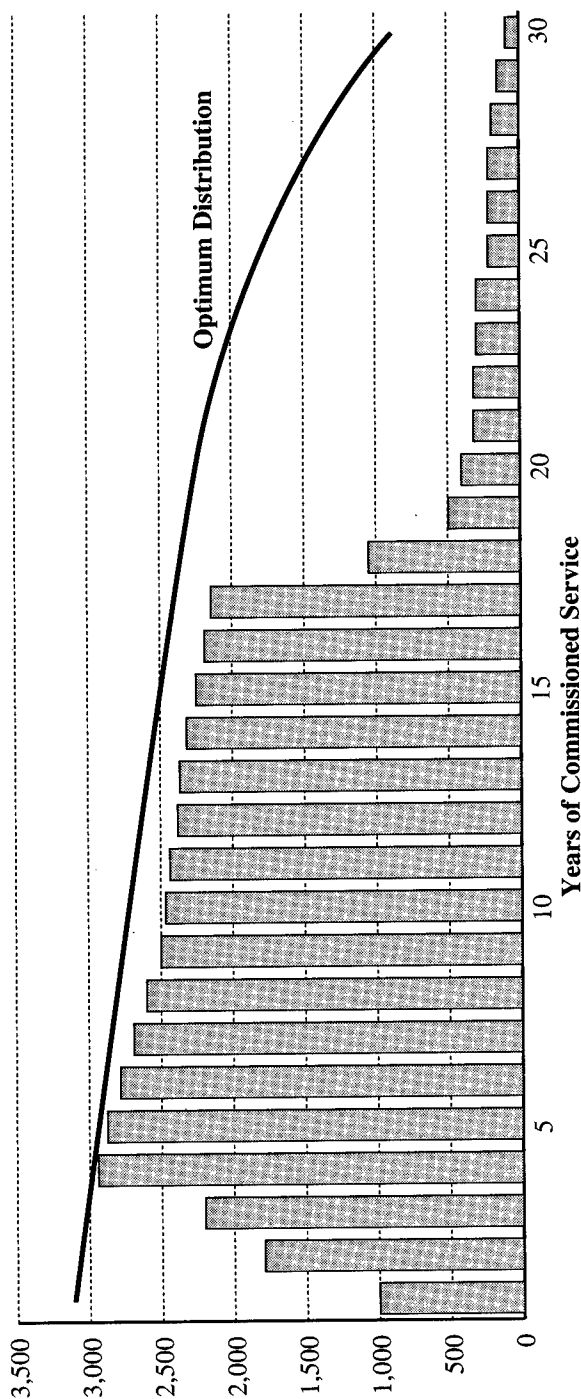
The actual selections began in the summer of 1957 and for the next few months commanded the labor of 425 colonels and 32 general officers. The assembled officers were split into three officer boards that could each evaluate perhaps one hundred officers per day. Each officer got a numerical score which, when combined with the score awarded in the major command screening, constituted an applicant's total score. How the central boards dealt with the inflating done by the major commands during the initial screening was not recorded.⁴⁶

When the selection process was completed, the Regular force had nearly doubled, and its structural contour had changed to the profile shown in figure 3. Ignoring the paucity of Regular officers beyond the eighteenth-year group, which constituted officers commissioned prior to the World War II buildup, the dramatic growth and reshaping of the force to approximate the optimum profile

Figure 3

Years of Service-Regular Line Officers

After 1958 - 1959 Augmentation



Sources: *AF Times*, May 18, 1957, p. 14. The source cited only the number of line officers in each year group, which totaled 44,841. The graph was constructed by increasing that number by some 11 percent to include lawyers, chaplains, and medical officers and then applying the increase proportionally to each year group. The 11 percent figure comes from the proportion of nonlinear officers prior to the 1957-58 augmentation.

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stands out sharply. The last criterion used by the selection boards—the imposition of quotas for each year group to achieve an acceptable profile—produced this reshaping. The boards could select a lesser number, but could not exceed the quota furnished.⁴⁷

The reshaping of the Regular officer force was important for the purpose of orderly permanent promotions. Arranged vertically, the permanent grade structure, or any rank structure for that matter, needed to be molded so that the number of officers decreased as rank increased. Obviously, the rank structure was best served if the officer corps conformed to a similar shape in terms of years of service, the basic criterion for the permanent promotion system.

With the basic structure of the Regular officer force established by the massive augmentation of fiscal year 1958, the augmentation process slowed considerably. Only about 3,300 were selected for a Regular commission in the next fiscal year, and planning called for an annual augmentation of only about 2,500 thereafter, mostly those with five years of service or less, until the interim ceiling of 55,540 billets was reached in 1963. By that time, large numbers of Regular officers who had entered service in World War II would be retiring after twenty years of service, thereby freeing additional billets, and, hopefully, presidential approval would have lifted the interim ceiling, allowing expansion to the full force of 69,425 Regular officers.⁴⁸

Looking past 1963, the planning called for maintaining the achieved structure within a reasonable proximity of the optimum profile. About one thousand graduates of the service academies and distinguished graduates from other commissioning programs would be awarded Regular commissions after graduation. Other officers would have to wait three years before being considered, giving them time to receive a number of efficiency reports and otherwise assemble a selection portfolio sufficient to judge their individual merit for a Regular billet. Beginning in the third year and continuing through the thirteenth year of service, 150 to 250 Regular commissions would be offered in each year group, bringing the total annual augmentation to about three thousand.⁴⁹

The Founding of the Air Force Academy

The buildup of the Regular officer force began only shortly before the largest future source of such officers, the United States Air Force Academy, ended a difficult odyssey by graduating its first class. Tentative planning for an air academy began in 1944, but, for various reasons, the new institution did not open until 1955 and then in temporary quarters at Lowry Air Force Base, Colorado. Not until 1958 did the academy move to its permanent location near Colorado Springs. The first class graduated the following year.⁵⁰

The initial post-World War II planning addressed the question of whether the Air Force's requirement could best be satisfied by expanding the two

existing academies or by constructing a separate air academy. The two options were weighed over time, but were resolved in early 1948 in favor of a separate academy because of the cost and difficulty of expanding the facilities at the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Naval Academy. Senior Air Force officers also believed that mixing air and ground requirements had not worked well at West Point and was unlikely to work in the future, an opinion shared by the Superintendent of West Point, Maj. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor.⁵¹ Another, and largely unspoken, reason was that the leaders of the Air Force wanted the prestige of their own academy, one that would implant in young men the leadership and skills needed in the employment of air power.

With the issue resolved in favor of an air academy, planning then addressed the nature of the proposed facility. In 1947, Lt. Gen. Muir Fairchild sponsored an Air University study that recommended a mixture of education at civilian universities and at the air academy. Cadets would attend two years at a civilian university to broaden their educational base and three years at the air academy to complete their education. It was, Fairchild argued, the best way to avoid charges that the Air Force produced officers with a narrow, unimaginative "military mind."⁵²

The Air Board took up the issue in May 1948. A difference of opinion between the Air Staff and the Air University quickly emerged. The Air Staff favored a four-year institution modeled after West Point and Annapolis and commissioning without any civilian schooling. This would avoid the problem of cadets not receiving the same quality of education as might happen if they spent two years at different civilian schools under General Fairchild's plan. It would also give the air academy four years to imprint on young minds the knowledge and ethical concepts unique to the military officer. In the words of one Air Board member, perhaps spoken in jest, that meant "catching them young . . . at least before they go through some of these philosophy courses in college."⁵³ Fairchild vigorously defended the Air University's plan, but board members leaned toward the Air Staff's position.⁵⁴

The two concepts were voted on at an academy planning conference at Maxwell AFB, Alabama, in August 1948. By a vote of eight in favor, five opposed, and two abstaining, the conferees, ten military officers and five civilian educators, supported Fairchild's plan for a mixture of civilian and military education. The officers split between the two plans while the civilian members voted overwhelmingly for Fairchild's plan, thus giving it the edge. The conference also recommended against pilot training as a part of the curriculum because of the difficulty encountered in offering flight training at West Point during the war. The new Chief of Staff, Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, approved the recommendation against pilot training, but, as a military officer and West Pointer, followed traditional lines in siding with the Air Staff on the basic structure of the institution. He ordered planning to concentrate on a four-year program along the lines of the two existing academies.⁵⁵

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Even with the two major decisions about an air academy made, disagreements over such issues as site location forced further delays in getting Congressional approval. Still, the Air Staff remained optimistic well into 1949 that an air academy could begin operations in a temporary site by mid-1950. However, the slowness of the Air Force decision delayed Congressional consideration until after onset of the Korean War, which diverted interest elsewhere and further delayed the new academy by as many as three years.

Congressional slowness did not, however, mean disinterest. In fact, it was Congressman Carl Vinson (D-Georgia), Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who forced a reexamination of earlier decisions made relative to the proposed academy. Vinson supported an air academy, but in April 1950 he raised objections to some of the plans for that institution. Writing to Secretary of the Air Force Stuart Symington, he made it clear that he considered locating the academy at an interim site to be wasteful, that the permanent academy site must be announced before the enabling legislation was approved, and that he could not support an air academy that did not include flight training.⁵⁶

Vinson's objections raised serious concern because his continuing support was critical to the proposed academy. Without it, getting the enabling legislation out of his committee, much less through the entire approval cycle, would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible. Fortunately, he moderated his position rather quickly. He apparently dropped his objection to an interim site entirely, and in September 1950 he told Maj. Gen. Thomas D. White, then a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that prior permanent site selection was "as dead as a door nail." Five months later, he urged Lt. Gen. Hubert R. Harmon,* the Special Assistant for Air Force Academy Matters, to have the academy site selection committee "drag its feet" and to keep its deliberations secret. That brought him into agreement with the Air Force position that the enabling legislation should precede site selection. Otherwise, it might be difficult to get support from Congressmen and Senators disgruntled at having tried and failed to get the academy located within the states or districts they represented.⁵⁷

Vinson stood his ground on flight training, however, and apparently gained support from others in Congress, thus forcing a change in academy planning. Symington informed retired Gen. Carl Spaatz, the first Air Force Chief of Staff and chairman of the site selection committee, that the air academy should have some type of flight training and that his committee would consider the suitability of each proposed site for such training. In June 1950, Harmon recommended a token pilot training program consisting of thirty hours of flying and one hundred hours of ground training for each senior cadet.⁵⁸ Harmon's lukewarm response suggested that he agreed with the official position, prevalent since 1948, that flight training would detract from essential academic work.

* General Harmon later became the first Superintendent of the Air Force Academy, serving in that position from August 14, 1954, to July 31, 1956.



Lt. Gen. Hubert R. Harmon (left), the first Air Force Academy Superintendent, and Col. Dale O. Smith, dean-designate of the academy planning staff.

Late in 1952, Col. Dale O. Smith arrived on Harmon's staff as dean-designate of the proposed academy. Harmon asked Smith, air power advocate, prolific writer, and former heavy bomb group commander, to comment on two plans that would further increase flight training at the academy. Smith rejected both plans in favor of full flight training. Flying, he observed, was as important to the academy as English and mathematics. He dismissed as invalid the failure to integrate flying with academics at West Point, which had been the basis for the 1948 ban on flight training. The air academy would be free of West Point's emphasis on ground warfare and would have much greater latitude to develop policies accommodating flight training. The mission of the air academy, Smith continued, would be to develop Regular, general duty officers for the Air Force, and unless the pilot was obsolescent, which he did not believe, then flight training should be basic to the curriculum.⁵⁹

Smith's argument convinced Harmon, who quickly secured the backing of the Air Force Council, the service's senior policy advisory board, and the Vice Chief of Staff, Gen. Nathan F. Twining. Twining then ordered a committee, chaired by Harmon, to make recommendations on what type of flight training the academy should have. Reporting back in January 1953, the committee unanimously recommended that cadets should either earn their wings as navigators or complete the first phase of primary pilot training while at the academy. The recommendation and its rationale persuaded General Vandenberg, still Chief of Staff and the man who had decided against flight training in 1948, to reverse his previous decision and approve flight training for the proposed academy.⁶⁰

The rapid and total reversal in policy triggered by Colonel Smith and, in his own way, Congressman Vinson suggested that the senior leadership had never been comfortable with the ban on flight training. In fact, it remains rather

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strange that the ban lasted for as long as it did. Political and academic considerations aside, men who had spent their professional lives engrossed in the world of flight must have questioned the creation of an air academy devoid of the central mission of the Air Force. To them, an air academy without flying must have seemed a soulless institution that mocked its own *raison d'être*. Possibly the only reason that the original decision stood for so long was the knowledge, aided by the protracted process of getting approval for the academy, that there was still time for change. Now, with time running out, only a spark was needed to bring doubts to the surface and allow the senior leadership to speak as one voice in support of flight training.

Flight training at the academy for the first few years of its existence followed the recommendations of General Harmon and his staff. Cadets received 645 hours of instruction and sufficient flight missions to earn navigator wings. An additional 200 hours, mostly in the form of ground training, went into a brief pilot training program. With the move to the permanent academy site in 1958, however, flight training became more difficult. Each flight mission meant a 130-mile round trip to Lowry Air Force Base where the planes were kept, and flight training was scaled down. Cadets continued to receive a mixture of navigator and pilot training, but it was not enough to earn either set of wings.⁶¹

Although the academy rejected the West Point experience by adopting flight training, some things were transposed directly from the older academy. Most of the key officers involved in planning the new academy were West Point graduates, and they naturally looked to that institution for ideas. Following the example of West Point, Air Force Academy cadets wore uniforms distinct from regular service dress, participated in rigorous intramural athletics, adhered to an honor code, and carried rifles during drill and in parades.

In particular, air academy cadets lived under a pattern of strict military discipline transplanted directly from West Point as the proven pattern for developing leaders. Cadets, particularly those in their first year, had to endure a highly regimented system that demanded high standards of dress and conduct, as well as a willingness on the part of individuals to accept personal responsibility for their actions. Pressure, in the form of high expectations on the part of the faculty and staff and strict punishment for who did not measure up, would be constant. However, hazing was strictly forbidden, just as it was at West Point. Hazing, prevalent within many adolescent organizations, was, in the minds of senior officers, mindless harassment inflicted by superiors upon subordinates, sometimes to the point of sadism, and had no place at the air academy.⁶²

Yet the air academy never intended to follow the United States Military Academy model too closely; it was not to be a West Point with airplanes. Since its founding in 1802, West Point had followed a degree plan that emphasized scientific and technical courses, particularly engineering. The degree plan was a rigid mold that did not allow a single elective during four years of study. In the judgment of the officers developing the air academy's academic curriculum, the

West Point example did not have the flexibility to meet the broader demands of a modern service. Unhampered by the heavy hand of tradition that slowed change at West Point, the air academy would be different.

In the beginning, the academy, like West Point, offered only a single degree, a bachelor of science, but with some important differences. The mixture of courses in the curriculum tilted less toward the scientific and technical than at either of the other two service academies. The curriculum had roughly 55 percent scientific and technical courses and 45 percent social sciences and humanities, as compared to 65 and 35 percent at West Point and 76 and 24 percent at Annapolis. Unique among the military academies at the time, it offered cadets a choice of electives, which, if fully utilized, could shape the individual's course of study to 53 percent social sciences and humanities.⁶³

Beyond that, cadets could vary their curricula in still other ways. The enrichment program, developed in academic year 1956–57, gave cadets with previous college experience the option of meeting individual course requirements through proficiency examinations or by transferring credit earned at other institutions. In the time thus made available, cadets could take any elective they wished. Still others were allowed to take courses over and above the normal workload. Participation in the enrichment program was voluntary and limited to those who already had high academic achievements.⁶⁴

Other academic changes followed in the early 1960s, including a complete spectrum of majors and minors comparable to most other institutions of higher learning and sending a small number of cadets to other universities for postgraduate work leading to a master's degree. The academy's beginning was sufficiently impressive to gain accreditation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in April 1959. That achievement was particularly noteworthy, since the association normally did not consider accrediting an institution until after it had graduated at least one class.⁶⁵

On a different level, the graduation of the first USAFA class altered the 1949 agreement with the Army and Navy. Instead of furnishing 300–350 graduates to the junior service, West Point and Annapolis furnished only enough to raise the number of academy graduates entering the Air Force to equal the number entering the other two services from academies. In 1959, that came to 126 graduates, 43 from West Point and 83 from Annapolis. That policy lasted well into the 1960s, until the Air Force Academy produced as many graduates annually as West Point and Annapolis.⁶⁶

The Emphasis on Quality

The cadets at the new Air Force Academy had not quite finished their first year when the service turned its attention toward a matter that had always plagued a military emerging from a period of rapid growth. Any rapid force

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buildup, such as happened in the first half of the 1950s, inevitably included a number of individuals who benefited from the emphasis on numbers. By 1956, the pressure to expand the force had slackened to the point that the officer procurement programs could easily meet the service's quantitative needs. It was now time to bring things back into better balance by concentrating on quality and purging the ranks of officers whose personal conduct and duty performance did not meet acceptable standards.

Yet that requirement, so simple and so obvious, had always posed a problem, largely because of institutional weaknesses that went back many years. Prior to World War II, the mechanisms to remove officers had been almost nonexistent. The inability to remove substandard officers led, in turn, to atrophy of the will once the mechanisms became available during the war. Men shied away from making hard judgments about fellow officers. In 1943, Gen. Henry Arnold, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, had to ensure subordinate commanders of complete anonymity when asking them to identify substandard colonels and brigadier generals. In that same year, the first major effort of the Army to rid itself of unsatisfactory officers resulted in only four eliminations from an officer corps of almost half a million. It took constant pressure from the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, to get the program on track, but even then the results were meager. Within the AAF, fewer than 2 percent of the officers were judged unsatisfactory, and only half of those actually lost their commissions.⁶⁷

In the aftermath of the war, the independent Air Force kept trying, but with little success. In 1947, only fifty-eight Regular officers, of some twenty thousand, met fitness boards, and fewer than ten were dismissed. A similar effort in 1948 identified only thirty-nine officers as substandard. That led Lt. Gen. Idwal Edwards, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, to speculate that either the caliber of commissioned personnel was much higher than he thought or commanders had not identified those of questionable ability. He suspected the latter was true.⁶⁸

Armed with the provisions of Air Force Regulation 36-2, adopted in 1948, quality control efforts continued during the first half of the 1950s. Each year, considerable effort went into identifying unsatisfactory officers and ordering them to "show cause" why they should not be dismissed in accordance with the provisions of AFR 36-2. The transgressions of those identified for such action ran the gamut of human failings: inept duty performance, apathy ("retired on duty"), sexual peccadilloes incompatible with the conservative military self-image, financial irresponsibility, and factual misrepresentations (lying). In a large number of cases, the intemperate use of alcohol played a critical role. Again, however, the number "showing cause" was small, only about 110 annually of an officer corps that averaged over 100,000.⁶⁹

In October 1956, Gen. Nathan Twining, the Chief of Staff, sent a letter to all major commanders that focused squarely on officer quality. Backed by the

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findings of a recent Secretary of the Air Force panel, Twining voiced displeasure at the number of substandard officers in the active duty force. He ordered an aggressive campaign against those whose conduct and duty performance reflected discredit on the service.⁷⁰

In response, the Directorate of Military Personnel conducted a study whose results suggested several weaknesses that had reduced the ability of AFR 36-2 to serve as an effective quality control tool. Beyond the obvious reluctance of commanders to initiate AFR 36-2 action, the study found a lack of understanding on the part of show cause board members as to their duties. Despite the protection afforded those facing show cause boards, primarily in the right to retain legal counsel, the boards were administrative, not judicial. The burden of proof lay with the officers showing cause. They had already been found wanting in a complex set of hearings and reviews stretching over several months, all the way from unit level to the Air Staff. The hearings merely allowed them one last chance before the board ratified the decision to dismiss them from service. However, clever defense counsels introduced extraneous material, entered emotional pleas, and easily transformed an administrative hearing into a courtroom battle and shifted the burden of proof subtly, but firmly, to the board members. Well over half of the officers who elected to go before a board in lieu of resigning or retiring suffered no penalty despite the weight of evidence against them.⁷¹

In 1957, the means for dealing with poor performers were revised. Commanders were ordered to document all incidents of misconduct and poor duty performance. If the incidents proved sufficiently serious, officers could get 120 days probation by being placed on a control roster. If their conduct or duty performance improved, they were removed from probation after the 120-day period. If not, they could be given an additional 120 days probation, ordered to show cause in accordance with AFR 36-2, demoted, or, in the case of Reserve officers, separated from active duty and returned to inactive status, but retaining their commissions.⁷²

Giving commanders a series of graduated options would, hopefully, overcome their reluctance to initiate action against substandard officers. Formerly, commanders had only the dismissal option under show cause, and many found that too distasteful or too harsh except in extreme cases. Under the new guidelines, commanders could place an officer on a control roster, which made that officer responsible for meeting standards. Even if the individual failed to improve, options short of dismissal from service were available: additional probation, demotion, or separation from active duty.

In January 1958, AFR 36-2 procedures were streamlined to save time and cut down on the workload. Many of the responsibilities were decentralized to the major commands, reducing the time consumed by about three months and limiting the Air Staff role to that of a review and approving authority. For officers serving their first active duty tour and guilty of gross transgressions, the

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process was even simpler: they could be cashiered without being offered the chance to go before a show cause board.⁷³

Despite the effort to make quality control effective, the limited evidence showed a pattern much like before. In November 1957, 199 officers were identified as substandard, but 133 returned to duty without penalty. Of the remaining 66 officers, 33 Regular officers were demoted, 3 Regular officers were demoted and ordered to show cause, 4 Reserve officers were separated from active duty, and 7 Reserve officers were separated and ordered to show cause.⁷⁴

It would be easy to label the quality control effort of the late 1950s a failure, the victim of those still unwilling to perform the unpleasant duty of ridding the service of unfit officers. That judgment has merit, but it ignores the context of the times. In 1957, the Eisenhower administration began to progressively reduce the size of Air Force, an initiative that continued into the early 1960s and ended the active duty service of thousands of officers. Many of those eliminated were probably good candidates for penalties under AFR 36-2. Thus, the force reduction provided a quick and easy alternative to the new quality control mechanisms. Also, the force reduction was mandatory, which relieved reluctant commanders of the responsibility to initiate the action. The significance of the quality control effort may ultimately have been in the reemphasis on quality and the improved enforcement mechanisms, not in numbers, but a fair judgment of their effectiveness had to await more stable times.

Promotions: The Protracted Crisis Begins

Awaiting more tranquil times before judging the effects of policy on promotions would have been unthinkable. While very few officers would ever run afoul of AFR 36-2 or face a show cause board, as many as fifteen thousand officers might meet some type of temporary or permanent promotion board each year. For all officers, promotions were at the heart of the system of career progression. For some, making or failing a promotion meant the difference between continued service, dismissal, forced retirement, or separation from active duty. By 1958, the Air Force promotion system was in deep trouble as a result of poor planning, changes wrought by the large peacetime military, and gross numbers that seemed to defy management within the confines of the existing statutes.

All organizations, military or otherwise, employed motivational tools, both positive and negative, to get employees to meet acceptable standards. Following the enactment of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, which mandated promotion by merit rather than seniority, promotions had formed the basis for the military's system of rewards, as well as the primary means of quality control. Financial compensation, the premier motivation tool of the civilian world, played a lesser role in the military.⁷⁵

Military pay scales could not compete with those of the civilian world for two major reasons. First and foremost, military salaries conformed to public law and Congress had no intention of matching civilian compensation. Second, the military had never advocated a civilian-style philosophy toward pay, believing that effective military service could not be bought; the individual had to sacrifice monetary gain for whatever other rewards came from wearing the uniform and serving in the public realm. Beyond base salaries, the military compensation package included step pay increases based on years of service, free medical care, subsidized shopping and housing, thirty days paid vacation annually, and retirement after as little as twenty years of service. Adding everything up, military officers enjoyed a comfortable life style, but certainly not an affluent one.

To secure and augment their positions, military officers had to win promotions. Military rank carried with it active duty tenure, and officers had to achieve the grade of major to secure a career to retirement. Promotions opened doors to desirable positions and still further promotions, but even once-deferred officers found those same doors closed and their upward mobility limited, while twice-deferred officers might find themselves out of the military altogether. Further, the military had always been a distinct hierarchy in which power and privileges closely followed rank. Officers wore, in the form of rank insignia, a visible symbol of their status, or lack of it, and from that flowed psychological implications beyond the material factors.

The military was also paternalistic; it controlled its members to a degree uncommon in civilian life. Military members gave up a considerable number of privileges routinely enjoyed by Americans. They were told what to wear, where to live, how to relate to those of differing rank, and what organizations to avoid. Every military member had to accept the possibility of receiving an order, enforceable by law, to place his life in mortal peril in the line of duty. At the same time, and also common to paternalistic organizations, the military provided enhanced security to its members to offset the demands it made. The influence of paternalism could be seen in the meager results of efforts to rid the service of substandard officers during this period. Military officers were not "hired and fired" as civilian executives were, and that placed limits on how many could be deferred from promotion, something that should be kept in mind if promotion opportunities to certain grades seemed unexpectedly high.

Nonetheless, virtually everything associated with a military career—assignments, tenure, pay, prestige, and power—relied on getting promoted. Certainly, promotions were much more important than the dry official pronouncements about providing adequate advancement or fleshing out the rank structure might have suggested. The problem was that the Air Force encountered enormous difficulties with officer promotions, difficulties that spanned more than a generation, but which became apparent only a short time after the service gained its independence.

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In November 1949, Maj. Gen. Robert Nugent, acting Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, appointed an ad hoc committee to assess the long-term implications of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, the one-shot promotion cycle of 1948, and the sevenfold increase in Regular officers since the war. Because Reservists did not yet figure prominently in active duty plans, only Regular officers were considered. Furthermore, since most everyone would eventually surrender any temporary rank they had held since the war, the committee studied only the permanent rank structure. The committee, composed of four young officers, labored more than seven months to project the effect of recent decisions as far ahead as 1970. The look ahead was sobering.

Basically, the committee found that instead of initiating an orderly process, the service had rushed to augment the Regular force with outstanding young officers from World War II. The one-shot promotion cycle in 1948 had dealt with the hump of officers in the grade of first lieutenant by expanding the selection criteria for that single promotion cycle, but neither those promotions nor any of the other personnel policies of the period had dealt with the hump of officers clustered together in terms of years of service. Of the 20,000 Regular officers in 1949, over 12,000 (60 percent) had five to ten years of service regardless of their rank, meaning they had been commissioned during the war. Looking ahead, the committee warned that by 1962, the hump would reach the mandatory promotion point for permanent lieutenant colonel (twenty-one years of service) and by 1966, over 10,000 officers (of 27,500) would be eligible for that rank.⁷⁶

That figure far exceeded the 3,800 provided for by the OPA of 1947. Although that legislation had provisions whereby permanent grade ceilings could be adjusted upward, the committee doubted that Congress would sanction a rank structure with perhaps half the officers in the grade of lieutenant colonel or higher. More likely, Congress would limit, or even deny, the grade relief, thus stagnating promotions, just as had happened before in American military history. To preempt such an eventuality, the committee recommended a strict promotion program that would eliminate one-third of all Regular officers prior to their consideration for lieutenant colonel.⁷⁷

Ironically, the committee finished its study on June 26, 1950, the day after the North Korean army crossed into South Korea. The events of the next few months destroyed the premises on which the committee had based its study, but the warning of a glutted promotion system and trouble with Congress survived the Korean War, and all other officer personnel policy changes as well, to emerge with deadly accuracy a few years later.

During the Korean War, all three military services turned to the temporary promotion authority provided by the OPA of 1947 for use during times of national emergency to flesh out the rank structure of the rapidly expanding military. In the Air Force, temporary promotions commenced in December 1950 and continued unimpeded for over a year before Congress began to

question the number of such promotions that had made all three service's rank structure top-heavy, a term used to describe too many officers in the grades from major to colonel. Congress, however, could do nothing under the existing law. The OPA of 1947 vested temporary promotion authority in the respective service secretaries during war or time of national emergency in anticipation that such conditions would be of short duration, which did not happen during the Cold War. In July 1952, and again in March 1953, Congress passed temporary legislation imposing numerical ceilings on all ranks, permanent or temporary, above that of captain (Navy lieutenant) until studies could produce long-term grade-control measures.⁷⁸

In March 1953, a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, chaired by Congressman Leslie C. Arends (R-Illinois), opened hearings on the military grade structure and the possibility of placing permanent ceilings on parts of that structure. The hearings, with Maj. Gen. Roger J. Browne, Director of Manpower and Organization, representing the Air Force, continued at intervals until August. The main problem from the Air Force perspective was the subcommittee's use of the World War II rank structure as a basis for proposed grade ceilings because of the enormous gap between the needs of the Army Air Forces of 1943 and the Air Force of a decade later. In 1943, only the careers of the three thousand Regular officers, almost all of whom were pilots, required attention. The remainder, Reserve and temporary officers, would muster out as a normal part of demobilization. In 1953, there were 175 officer specialties, twenty-five major career fields, and over one hundred thousand officers, most of whom held Reserve commissions. How to procure, train, promote, and manage the larger, more complex officer corps of the 1950s was still far from settled, and the imposition of grade ceilings promised yet another complicating factor the service could live without.⁷⁹

After hearing the testimony of all three services, the subcommittee retired into executive session before issuing its statement. Much of that statement was surprisingly low key. The subcommittee disclaimed any intent to dictate the standards that should govern officer promotions. If a service wished to promote on the basis of performance, level of responsibility, seniority, years of service, or any combination of factors, it could do so. Nor did the subcommittee find that the proliferation of temporary promotions constituted intentional "watering of the stock." Yet all the conciliatory rhetoric was beside the point. Exclusive of wartime, Congress traditionally exercised control over the military rank structure, and that policy would continue.⁸⁰

On May 5, 1954, Congress enacted Public Law 349, 83d Congress (PL 83-349), the Officer Grade Limitation Act of 1954. Popularly known as the OGLA of 1954, or merely the OGLA, the new legislation placed numerical ceilings on each of the field-grade ranks (major through colonel) of the three military services. The Air Force's ceilings were proportionally lower than those of the other services because its officer force, still heavily laden with officers

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commissioned during World War II, was younger in terms of years of service.⁸¹ (Appendix 5 contains selected extracts from the Officer Grade Limitation Act of 1954.)

Within the Air Force, the OGLA of 1954 immediately focused attention on the officer rank structure emerging from the Korean War, a rank structure in chaos. Temporary and permanent ranks, in many cases, bore only an incidental relationship to each other. In 1955, over thirty-eight thousand officers served in temporary ranks higher than their permanent grades. Some Regular officers held temporary appointments three ranks higher than their permanent grades. On the other hand, the number of Reserve officers serving in grades lower than their permanent Reserve grades shot up from 365 in 1955 to over 12,000 in 1958. By 1955, the average temporary colonel had achieved that rank a full decade before being eligible for it in the permanent structure. In 1956, the average temporary colonel was slightly younger than the average temporary lieutenant colonel. Yet almost 38 percent of all temporary colonels had held that rank in World War II.⁸²

Efforts to restore a degree of order had begun as soon as the Korean War ended. Over the next several years, temporary promotions to fill unit vacancies stopped, and the time an officer spent in a particular grade before consideration for temporary promotion to the next higher rank, known as "time in grade," slowly increased to between five and six years for the field-grade ranks. More important, the control of temporary promotions changed.⁸³

When temporary promotions resumed in late 1950, the authority for such promotions below the rank of colonel had been, as in past conflicts, delegated to the major commands. That allowed commanders to adapt the system to their needs and relieved the Air Staff of the additional workload. The Air Staff simply parceled out a fair share of temporary billets to each major command. As might have been expected, there was little agreement as to what constituted a fair share. Citing the unique features of their commands, the individual major commanders lobbied aggressively and continuously for ever larger shares of temporary billets. Worse, the promotion criteria, such as time in grade, varied between the commands. That made the "fortunes of assignment" an important factor and led to bitter complaints from officers assigned to commands with more restrictive standards. This decentralized temporary promotion system probably accounted for most, if not all, of the disorder in the overall rank structure.⁸⁴

Efforts to centralize the temporary promotion system began in 1955, but quickly encountered a familiar problem. The major commanders questioned the ability of central boards to judge fairly officers from many different backgrounds and skills. Just as they had with assignments and career management, they argued that temporary promotions should remain decentralized to the commands where they could best be managed. Since promotions, like assignments, were a part of the career path, the major commanders had precedent on

their side, but this time they lost the battle. Temporary promotions were too important to the overall rank structure, and decentralization too divisive and inconsistent, for the Air Staff to yield. Although assignments and career management remained decentralized, centralized boards determined all temporary promotions by 1957. The major commanders, however, still played a part in the promotions of their subordinates by nominating those officers they wished considered for temporary promotions.⁸⁵

The only exception to the trend of centralized promotions dated from the late 1940s and involved Gen. Curtis LeMay, the Commander of the Strategic Air Command. Determined to build SAC into an effective vehicle of strategic retaliation, LeMay demanded high standards of performance from his fliers. Yet promotions during the period were slow, and he found no way to adequately reward those whose performance was of the highest order. In late 1949, he used the growing interest in—and support of—strategic air power to persuade Lt. Gen. Idwal Edwards, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, to allow him to promote, on his own initiative, 237 first lieutenants to temporary captain. It was the birth of SAC's spot-promotion system.⁸⁶

Spot promotions went only to rated officers and were entirely at LeMay's discretion. Spot-promoted officers whose performance declined "lost their spots" and reverted to their former rank, again at the pleasure of the SAC Commander. Other than authorizing the spot billets, the Air Staff exercised no control and, throughout its existence, the system remained outside either the temporary or permanent promotion structure. In sum, LeMay had his own promotion system which, at its zenith in the late 1950s, gave the SAC Commander exclusive control of about nine hundred promotions between captain and lieutenant colonel.⁸⁷

The spot-promotion system caused no concern until the OGLA of 1954 imposed ceilings on field-grade ranks. With limitations on these billets, the Air Staff increasingly viewed spot promotions as an unfair advantage for SAC. What followed was a tug-of-war that lasted for a decade. Repeatedly, the Air Staff sought to reduce or eliminate the program, but it was no match for LeMay and his successor, Gen. Thomas S. Power. That the spot-promotion system actually flourished despite the high-level opposition to it provides comment on the priority given to strategic air power and the prestige of the two SAC Commanders.⁸⁸

Ultimately, however, the increasing problems of staying within OGLA ceilings caught up with spot promotions, and ironically, LeMay capped the system. In his successive positions as Vice Chief of Staff (1957–61) and Chief of Staff (1961–65), he had to consider the entire Air Force when he made decisions. He rejected Power's repeated demands for more spot billets, but at the same time, he shielded the program from Air Staff efforts to whittle it down. Thus protected, this anomaly in an era of centralized promotions lasted until June 1966, after the retirement of both LeMay and Power.⁸⁹

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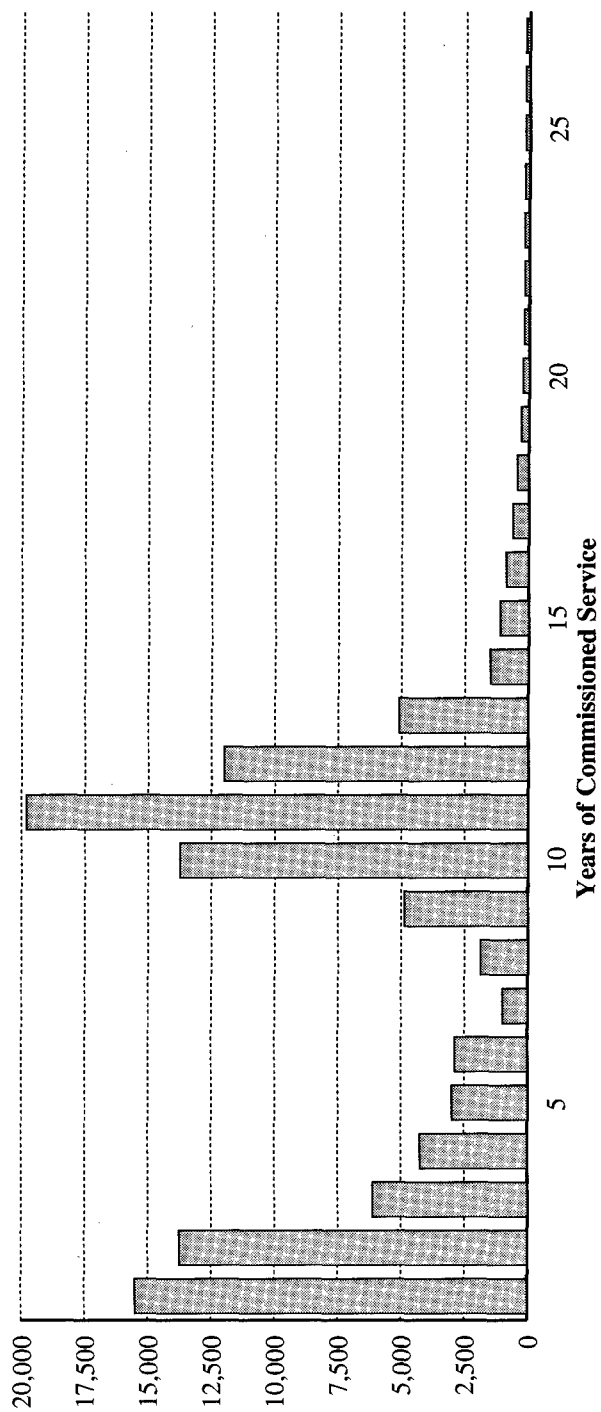


Gen. Curtis E. LeMay (left), Commander, Strategic Air Command, 1948–1957, and Gen. Thomas S. Power, SAC Commander, 1957–1964.

The problems generated by the spot-promotion system and decentralized temporary promotions, while significant, paled in comparison with the other problem, the “hump” of World War II officers. The simple reality was that, in 1954, about half of all officers, Regular and Reserve alike, were separated by only four years of commissioned service (figure 4). Until 1954, the hump had not posed a problem; in fact, it had been advantageous. As the Air Force increased in size during the Korean War, the paucity of senior officers led to the advancement of younger men to ranks and positions far beyond what their age and experience would normally have entitled them. By 1954, however, the hump had matured to the point that the structure was almost in equilibrium, in that officers held billets appropriate for their age and experience. Against that background, Brig. Gen. Raymond J. Reeves, Director of Military Personnel, ordered a study of the implications of the hump on assignments (not rank) over the next fifteen years, roughly the span of time until most of the World War II officers would retire.

Completed in late 1954, the Hump Study concluded that although the hump had previously been a wave that carried many into positions of responsibility, it was becoming a barrier that, if unchecked, would cripple the career plans of many others. By 1959, the large number of officers commissioned during World War II would consist of over fifty-four thousand officers with fourteen to seventeen years of service. Because the number of officers in the hump years far exceeded the number of appropriate billets, this total would include over nineteen thousand officers filling billets normally assigned to more junior officers, a condition known as “roll back.” An additional eleven thousand officers just behind the hump, those with ten to thirteen years of service, would be stagnated by the glut of hump officers and unable to advance beyond their current billets. By the mid-1960s, a staggering fifty-four thousand officers

Figure 4
Years of Service—Regular and Reserve Line Officers
 1954



Sources: staff study, subj: Hump Study, undated, illustration 1, ACC 86-155, box 9, 101-1 (1955-56) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

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would be either rolled back or stagnated as the hump reached the zenith of its repressive influence.⁹⁰

The study's harsh forecast for career progression was matched by its recommendation to reduce the hump. Normal attrition was too low and would likely remain that way until 1962, when sizable numbers of officers would begin reaching the twenty years of service necessary for retirement. The study recommended a forced attrition of seventeen hundred hump officers annually through reduced promotion opportunities within the field-grade ranks. Regular officers twice deferred for promotion to the next higher permanent grade faced either retirement, if qualified, or dismissal, while Reservists who twice failed temporary promotion to the next higher grade would either be retired, if qualified, or separated from active duty and returned to their Reserve units.⁹¹

With promotions, as with assignments, the hump had been manageable because the temporary promotion system offered ample opportunity to promote officers to ranks compatible with their positions and years of service. That came to an abrupt halt with the OGLA of 1954, and as with assignments, the future looked bleak. Offering an acceptable chance at field-grade promotions within OGLA ceilings tested the service's ingenuity for years to come.

Part of the problem was the conflict between the permanent promotion system, which affected only Regular officers, and the OGLA of 1954, which aimed at the temporary promotion system, but, in effect, limited all field-grade billets regardless of how obtained. By law (the OPA of 1947), Regular officers, if selected, must be promoted through the grade of permanent lieutenant colonel. By 1957, the hump would arrive at the point (fourteen years of service) where large numbers of Regular officers within it must be considered for permanent major, the lowest of the grades affected by OGLA ceilings. The selection rate to permanent major historically had amounted to almost 100 percent. The nearly automatic promotion feature would drive the number of field-grade promotions steadily upward toward OGLA ceilings, increasingly so as more Regular officers from the hump years arrived at the mandatory permanent promotion points. That upward pressure was further intensified by the massive Regular officer augmentation in 1958-59 (discussed on pages 124-30) and by "pushers."

A pusher was an officer junior to another officer in the same permanent grade, but with more years of commissioned service. Pushers were an unfortunate but, at the time, acceptable byproduct of the one-shot promotion cycle in 1948. As a simple illustration, Captain A, with eight years of service, and Captain B, with thirteen years of service, were considered for permanent major under the expanded one-shot criteria. Captain A got promoted, but Captain B did not. However, Captain B was promoted to major the next year, the normal time, but was still junior to A. In 1956, Major B, with twenty-one years of service, was considered for permanent lieutenant colonel. Because, by law, all permanent majors senior to Major B must also be considered, Major A was also

considered. Therefore, Major B became a "pusher" who "pushed" Major A into the zone of consideration for promotion ahead of time. Pushers remained a part of the permanent promotion system until about 1961, and they forced the early promotion of thousands of Regular officers.⁹²

Thus, the Air Force promotion system confronted two powerful and contradictory forces in the last half of the 1950s—OGLA field-grade ceilings and the increasing number of officers, Regular and Reserve, becoming eligible for those very grades. Permanent promotions for Regular officers were not at risk because of the legal foundations of the OPA of 1947, which mandated that Regular officers be considered for permanent promotion at certain points in their careers and, if qualified, promoted. Temporary promotions had no such protection, as they were used only when the military had expanded to the point that the permanent ranks could no longer provide the necessary structure. When the OGLA ceilings were reached, temporary promotions to the field grades would be in peril, with some highly undesirable consequences.

Regular officers could get promoted via either the permanent or temporary promotion systems, but active duty Reserve officers faced an entirely different situation. The Reserve components of the military establishment had a permanent promotion system similar to that enjoyed by Regular officers, but Reserve permanent rank affected only Reserve officers in Reserve status. Reserve officers on active duty could change their rank only if promoted under the *temporary* system. If OGLA ceilings forced a cutback in field-grade promotions, the temporary system, unprotected by law, would absorb all the reductions, making it difficult for Reserve officers to attain those grades since any available billets must be saved for the permanent promotion of Regular officers whose promotions were protected by law. If field-grade promotions ceased, company-grade (lieutenants and captains) Reserve officers could expect an active duty grade no higher than captain. Under those conditions, few competent Reservists would consider active duty service beyond their minimum obligations.⁹³

The initial Air Force reaction to the OGLA of 1954 was to better manage promotions to and within field-grade ranks, and centralizing temporary promotions had been a part of that attempt. In 1956, about fifty-eight hundred vacant field-grade billets remained below OGLA ceilings—nine hundred colonels, nineteen hundred lieutenant colonels, and three thousand majors. Under a plan developed by the Directorate of Personnel Planning, the number of promotions each year was limited to three hundred colonels, nine hundred lieutenant colonels, and two thousand majors. Both temporary and permanent promotions were provided for in the total, although temporary promotion opportunities faced greater restrictions than in previous years.⁹⁴

Temporary promotions always used the "best-qualified" method of selection. Under that standard, the service secretary established the promotion quotas, and promotions went to the officers selected as the best qualified from among those competing. The selection rate in temporary promotions was always

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lower than that of the permanent promotion system. In the permanent structure, promotions to colonel also used a best-qualified standard, but permanent promotions to the lesser grades had no ceiling on promotions and used a "fully qualified" standard. The official, and vague, definition of a fully qualified officer was one whose record established that he had the ability to perform the duties of the next higher grade. A more realistic definition was that he had served the number of years and his record was free of an excessive number of negative marks. Between 1951 and 1958, over 13,000 Regular officers were considered for promotion to permanent major and lieutenant colonel. Only 396 (0.3 percent) suffered one deferral from selection, and a mere 150 (just over 0.1 percent) were twice deferred and either dismissed or retired.⁹⁵

In fact, the permanent promotion system, with its emphasis on time in service and near-total promotion opportunities, resembled closely the old seniority system. Despite the clear intent of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 that all permanent promotions be based on merit and the unfit eliminated, many senior officers applied standards closer to those of the prewar Air Corps. An officer tendered a Regular commission in the Air Corps was accepted by his fellows as having already met high standards. From then on, he benefited from an environment that did not, except in rare cases, attempt to make hard judgments about quality. In the 1950s, many senior officers who had spent their formative years in the Air Corps recoiled at denying promotions to Regular officers, except in cases of the most obvious malfeasance. Just as that attitude had limited the effects of show cause on quality control, it similarly kept permanent promotion rates at near 100 percent.⁹⁶

The clash of standards had erupted in 1950 when, acting on an early recommendation of the 1949 ad hoc committee that the officer hump be subjected to severe attrition, the permanent promotion of majors and lieutenant colonels had used a best-qualified standard. Of the 6,604 officers considered, 748 (11 percent) were deferred, 128 (2 percent) for the second time. Many senior officers who found even those modest figures unacceptably high immediately protested. The more extreme among them even advocated fully qualified standards for both temporary and permanent promotions all the way to colonel. The debate ended when the Korean War diverted interests elsewhere, and the permanent promotion system quickly and quietly slipped back into the comfortable confines of the fully qualified standard.⁹⁷

The continuing effects of that backlash maintained the fully qualified standard until about 1958 and forced other decisions as well. The recommendation of the 1954 hump study that seventeen hundred hump officers be eliminated annually received no further attention. Reserve officers also benefited from the lack of attention given to the policy that allowed, but did not require, them to be separated from active duty if twice deferred for temporary promotion was largely ignored. For example, only 65 twice-deferred Reserve officers were separated in fiscal year 1957 and only 103 in calendar year 1959.⁹⁸

Despite the contradiction between virtually total promotion and efforts to stay within OGLA field-grade ceilings, promotion reform did not begin until 1956. In that year, Defense Secretary Wilson appointed an advisory committee headed by Ralph J. Cordiner, President of General Electric, to suggest means to increase personnel retention and, in a broad sense, adequately compensate people for their work. One of the committee's numerous recommendations, issued the following year, was that permanent promotions adopt the best-qualified standard.⁹⁹

Officially, the Cordiner Committee started the service toward promotion reform, but an equally powerful nudge came from the impending collision between the number of field-grade officers and the OGLA ceilings. In 1954, the best guess was that grade ceilings would be reached in 1962. Later estimates varied between 1960 and 1962. Then, in fiscal year 1958, a mandated reduction-in-force lowered officer strength by some eleven thousand and, in accordance with the OGLA tables, also lowered field-grade billets by about twenty-five hundred. These reductions moved the impact point between field grade and the OGLA ceiling to 1960. After that, temporary field-grade promotions would cease until perhaps 1963, when the retirement of many hump officers who had reached twenty years of service would vacate additional billets. Even then, temporary promotions would face uncertain times since any vacant billets might be needed to accommodate the permanent promotions of the greatly increased number of Regular officers.¹⁰⁰

With pressure mounting, plans to switch to a best-qualified standard for permanent promotion to major and lieutenant colonel were developed during the first part of 1958. As originally envisioned, the selection percentages to lieutenant colonel and major would be 80 and 90 percent, respectively, for first time eligibles. Again, however, the selection opportunities caused concern. Promotion to permanent major (fourteen years of service) was necessary for a Regular officer to get tenure to twenty years, the earliest point at which he could retire. A 90-percent selection rate meant that about 6 percent of those competing for permanent major would get a second deferral and be eliminated. For senior officers attuned to a Regular commission equating to job security, and fearful that increased elimination rates would deter young officers from a career, the proposed promotion rate seemed low.¹⁰¹

That led to a compromise. The promotion opportunity for first-time eligibles to permanent major was raised to between 95 and 97 percent, not much less than under the fully qualified standard. The 1959 permanent major's board actually promoted 2,075 of 2,131 (97 percent). In contrast, only 827 of 973 (83 percent) competing for permanent lieutenant colonel (twenty-one years of service) in 1959 won promotion. Projected ahead, the latter selection rate meant that about 9 percent received a second deferral and had to retire.¹⁰²

The key word was *retire*. If the best-qualified standard meant lower selection rates, then those competing for lieutenant colonel, most with over

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twenty years service, would carry the brunt. Retention and the sensitivities of senior officers would suffer less if the bulk of officers twice deferred for permanent field-grade promotion were retired rather than dismissed. Still, the numbers twice deferred for permanent major and lieutenant colonel remained small, and not even remotely adequate to deal with the tidal wave of hump officers bearing down on those very grades. In fact, the switch to a best-qualified standard was done only to satisfy Congress that there was some promotion attrition as prescribed in the OPA of 1947 because Congress held the key to additional temporary field-grade promotions in spite of grade ceilings.

Having made the perceived necessary changes in the permanent promotion system, attention then turned to getting Congressional relief to OGLA ceilings. The mathematics were simple. By mid-1960, about 37,700 officers would hold the ranks of major and above, very near the ceiling of 38,139 for a force of 125,000 officers. A small number of colonel and lieutenant colonel billets remained open, but the number of majors would equal the OGLA ceiling for that grade. By 1963, an additional 18,000 captains, both Regular and Reserve, would achieve the years of service necessary for promotion to major. To promote at least 80 percent of those being considered for the first time, a percentage thought to provide both an acceptable opportunity and a suitable degree of quality control, 14,400 vacancies had to be found. Normal attrition and retirement would free about 9,400 billets, leaving a deficit of 5,000 to be provided for via grade relief.¹⁰³

The OGLA of 1954 was more restrictive on the Air Force than the other services because of its youthful officer corps. As the officer corps "matured," Congress would presumably be amenable to adjusting the Air Force's OGLA field-grade ceilings upward, or so the logic went. Unfortunately, that logic collided with the prevailing political climate. In 1958, Congress was once again subjecting the Air Force officer corps to a critical examination. In the opinion of some Congressmen, specifically those on the House Appropriations Committee, the Air Force, with 15.6 percent of its personnel holding commissions, had too many officers. Committee members found the Army and Navy structures, with 11.4 percent officers, more to their liking and recommended a ceiling on Air Force officers of 15.2 percent of the total force. The Bureau of the Budget then entered the picture by questioning the whole idea of grade relief legislation. Couldn't lower grade officers perform the duties? Even the Defense Department asked the Air Force to consider a variety of options that would have obligated the service to live within the OGLA ceilings.¹⁰⁴

Under pressure from all sides, the service sought to break the issues into their component parts. Defending the percentage of officers, Secretary of the Air Force James H. Douglas, Jr., and his Assistant for Financial Management, Lyle S. Garlock, based their case on the requirements of a modern military force, maintaining that the number of officers was a function of the qualifications for each position and should not be based on a fixed percentage. The Air

Force was a highly technical service that also had to supply a growing number of officers to serve in external agencies such as the Joint Chiefs of Staff, military assistance groups to foreign nations, and to international organizations such as NATO. Expansion of industrial contracting in research and development, construction, and manufacturing further increased the need for officers in higher positions of management and supervision. Reflecting on the shift, apparent since World War II, toward a military with civilian attributes, the two Secretaries argued that the need for officers paralleled trends in civilian industry toward increased requirements for executives.¹⁰⁵

The Appropriations Committee did not agree with the argument, although it did push the target date for the lower ceiling back a year to the end of fiscal year 1961. Gen. Thomas D. White, the Chief of Staff, did not see the 15.2 percent ceiling as a major problem, although it would force the elimination of some thirty-four hundred officers and add to an ongoing force reduction that had begun in 1957. General White's major concern was the pressure from the budgetary staff and the Defense Department to keep the field-grade rank structure within OGLA ceilings. Depending on a number of complex variables, living within OGLA ceilings would force the Air Force to cancel temporary field grade promotions, demote or separate from active duty between forty-six hundred and nine thousand officers, and replace those separated with newly commissioned second lieutenants to keep officer strength at approved numerical levels.¹⁰⁶

The ideas of a lower percentage of officers and living within the existing grade ceilings faded when their full impact became known, but only after the Air Force dramatically reduced its grade relief request to a point acceptable to all concerned. As originally proposed in January 1959, the grade relief request asked that the OGLA of 1954 be amended to provide Air Force officers with field-grade promotion opportunities equal to the other two services. That was withdrawn in April in favor of a request temporarily to exceed the ceiling for majors by the five thousand billets necessary to meet the immediate crisis in that grade. The temporary authorization would expire in 1963. In June, the proposal was again reduced to a request to exceed the ceiling on majors' billets by three thousand until 1961.¹⁰⁷

As part of the last request, the Secretary of Defense, Neil H. McElroy, appointed a committee, headed by retired Army general Charles L. Bolte, to examine completely the issues of officer billets, grade ceilings, and career patterns for all the military services. In short, the committee would revise the OPA of 1947, which was still the basic legislation governing the active duty officer force, but which had become obsolescent with the onset of the Cold War and the large standing military. The committee's initial report, due in early 1961, would serve as the basis for the next, and hopefully better thought out, round of proposed officer personnel legislation due to be submitted to Congress that same year. The reduced request, the appointment of the Bolte Committee,

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and a carefully orchestrated letter-writing campaign by key military and civilian figures convinced Congress. In August 1959, Public Law 335, 81st Congress, granted the Air Force three thousand additional majors until 1961, thereby ending the first major crisis in the Air Force's promotion system.¹⁰⁸

* * * * *

The years following the Korean War brought a degree of stability, at least after the ramifications of a strength reduction mandated by the end of the war and the Eisenhower administration's New Look policy had been surmounted. With this stability, the Air Force was able to focus on some unfinished business, notably the establishment of an officer career management program, albeit decentralized to the major commands, and gain its own military academy. Both of the initiatives had been delayed for several years by internal disagreement, the slowness of the decision-making process, and the turmoil of the Korean War.

Arguably, however, the most important lesson that emerged from these first efforts to shape a much larger officer force in the new environment of the cold war can be gleaned from a side-by-side comparison between the Regular officer buildup and the serious difficulties with the promotion system. The former had a legal foundation and was carried out without undue difficulty. The latter, partly protected by public law (the OPA of 1947 ensured the permanent promotion of Regular officers) and partly at odds with public law (the OGLA of 1954 threatened the unprotected temporary promotion system), immediately encountered serious difficulties that threatened the long-term health of the system.

Dealing with those difficulties on the piecemeal basis of grade relief was not the answer to the problem. To achieve a degree of stability, one of the traditional hallmarks of the peacetime military, the entire promotion system had to be placed under public law. The Bolte Committee, appointed to revise officer personnel legislation in the light of events since 1947, was a step in the right direction, but the 1960s would present its own set of difficulties and delay a solution to the problem far longer than anyone in the late 1950s might have suspected.

Chapter Seven

Management in a Time of Decline 1957-1960

The Air Force reached its peak strength in 1957, with 137 wings and over 920,000 personnel, including an officer strength approaching 140,000. The Air Force was, in terms of total manpower, slightly larger than the Navy and about equal with the Army. That numerical strength and the Eisenhower administration's heavy reliance upon air power as the main weapon in the nation's arsenal made the Air Force the premier service during the last half of the decade. Yet, even as air power reached the zenith of its influence, the administration had already decided that military strength could be cut without endangering national security.

The ensuing cuts forced changes in flight training and highlighted deficiencies in officer procurement, particularly in the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps, still the most promising, but also the most troublesome of the procurement programs. The decline in strength also focused attention on the number of officers on flight status and the number that Congress was willing to fund, a difference that became a long-term issue. Most of all, the service again had to resort to both voluntary and involuntary means in reducing the active duty force by over 10 percent.

The first public hint of the impending cuts came in January 1957, when the President announced reductions in defense appropriations that trimmed the Air Force's budget to \$16.5 billion, about a billion less than originally approved for fiscal year 1957. Still wedded to the doctrine of strategic retaliation as the cornerstone of national defense policy, the loss took the form of ten tactical fighter wings. Personnel funding remained unchanged, but only for a short time.¹

The RIF of 1957-1960

When President Eisenhower announced the billion-dollar cut in the Air Force's budget, it was only the first of a series of such initiatives. In the assessments made later in 1957, Eisenhower found that military strength still exceeded requirements. A believer in a balanced budget as well as an adequate defense, he ordered the excess cut from the latter to help achieve the former. On July 16, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson instructed the three services to trim their roles by one hundred thousand personnel by March 1, 1958. The Air Force reduction amounted to twenty-five thousand, including thirty-eight hundred officers. Looking further ahead, Wilson warned that an additional cut of over eight thousand officers from the three services would be forthcoming and that personnel cuts would likely continue into fiscal year 1959.²

The Secretary's order came as no surprise. Forewarned, the Air Force's response arrived on the Chief of Staff's desk the day before the RIF order was sent to the service secretaries. Since the first phase of the RIF had a completion deadline of seven months, procurement reductions could not act in time to have any effect. With the exception of approximately nineteen hundred Reserve officers and AFROTC students who had their entry to active duty either canceled or delayed, all cuts had to come from the active duty force. The cuts were a combination of the involuntary early retirement of some five hundred officers, the involuntary separation of an equal number of substandard officers, and the early release of about twenty-five hundred Reservists already scheduled for voluntary separation from active duty later in the fiscal year.³

Normally, the major commanders would have nominated officers for separation, but this time the process, of necessity, would be different. To ease the burden on the affected officers, Air Force Secretary Douglas ordered that a minimum of six months notification be given in cases of involuntary separation or retirement. His order meant that notification of the individual officers had to be completed by the end of August, a time span too short to allow participation by the major commanders. Officers considered for elimination would be judged entirely on records already available to the Air Staff.⁴

On July 30, a hastily convened board of general officers began screening some eleven hundred officers for early retirement or involuntary separation from active duty. Because they did not have the legal protection enjoyed by Regular officers, all those considered held Reserve commissions. The vast majority of those facing the board had poor efficiency reports, derogatory information files, or had not been recommended for a Regular commission by their major commands. The board selected 254 for early retirement and 747 for involuntary separation from active duty. The final figure declined slightly when petitions filed in favor of individual officers resulted in the retention of 81 on active duty.⁵

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Charles E. Wilson,
Secretary of Defense,
1953-1957.



On August 1, the last measure in this phase of the RIF began when Reserve officers scheduled for separation from active duty prior to March 1, 1958, were offered the option of an early release. The release could be with as little as three months notification if the individual agreed. There was little trouble in finding enough Reservists who wished an early departure to meet the quantitative requirements of the first phase of the RIF.⁶

On September 19, the second RIF order arrived. For the Air Force, it meant a further reduction of 25,000 personnel, including 3,000 officers, which would cut the Air Force to 875,000 by the end of fiscal year 1958. However, to achieve the maximum monetary savings, the officers had to be released no later than January 31, 1958, even earlier than those affected by the first reduction. Again, the reductions required a combination of early retirements, involuntary separations, and voluntary early separations. By allowing Reservists already scheduled to leave active duty in the last half of fiscal year 1958 and the first half of fiscal year 1959 to separate early, about 1,400 officers were identified, leaving approximately 1,600 to be dealt with by involuntary means.⁷

This time the Air Force was much better prepared to deal with the involuntary portion of the RIF. When Secretary Wilson's first order warned of the additional cuts, the Air Staff moved quickly to restore the major commanders to the role denied them in the first reduction. On July 19, the major commanders were asked to nominate for involuntary release those Reserve officers whose departure would least affect the mission. The request elicited almost two thousand nominations, to which the Air Staff added a small number as the result of an additional records screening.⁸

On August 27, over three weeks before the second RIF order arrived, almost nineteen hundred Reservists were selected for early retirement or involuntary separation. Of that number, over three hundred with normal dates of separation during the last half of the fiscal year were deleted from the list since they would be lost through normal attrition. Petitions and other actions, such as giving

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special consideration to former prisoners-of-war, further reduced the total to about fifteen hundred. On October 16, the major commands alerted the officers of their January 31, 1958, release date.⁹

The third round of personnel cuts arrived in January 1958 when the fiscal year 1959 defense budget was announced. Although the Air Force share of the budget actually increased slightly to \$18.7 billion, it lost a further twenty-five thousand personnel and the number of wings was trimmed to 105. The rise in the budget reflected expenditures on missiles and strategic bombers, an increase that was the administration's major concession to the national jitters that resulted from the Soviet Union's successes in satellite launching that began in October 1957. The newest cuts affected only thirteen hundred officers, which meant that, to everyone's relief, no involuntary methods need be used. The longer lead time allowed reduced procurement and normal attrition to make the necessary adjustments.¹⁰

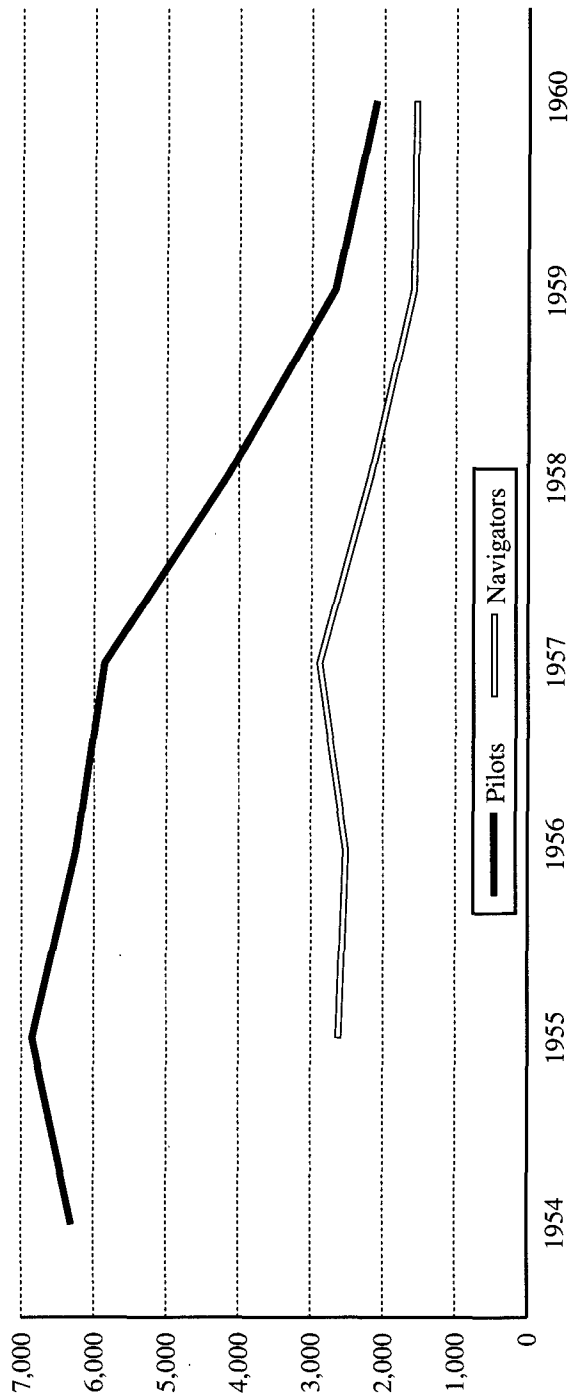
This RIF, the third involuntary Reduction in Force the Air Force had experienced in its brief life as an independent service, did not entirely run its course until late 1960 or perhaps early 1961. Almost fifteen thousand officers, over 10 percent of the force, felt the effects of the RIF, although the trauma was eased by the three years over which it was spread. That allowed the service sufficient lead time to limit the number of involuntary actions to about three thousand.¹¹ In total, the Air Force lost thirty-two wings and over one hundred thousand personnel, making it the largest reduction since World War II.

Flight Training: Change and Decline

Flight training was one of the first major areas to reflect the numerical decline in personnel strength. It had peaked numerically in fiscal year 1955 when almost ninety-five hundred officers earned their wings, but by fiscal year 1960, the training figure had dipped to less than half that and was still falling. Twice during the period, the number of crews per aircraft was reduced in anticipation that missiles, scheduled to enter service in appreciable numbers, would progressively decrease the importance of aircraft and crew members. At the same time, the retention of rated officers improved a bit as a result of the increased number of Regular commissions and a handsome pay raise in 1958 that boosted military paychecks by almost \$600 million annually. Better retention meant having to train fewer replacements for those leaving active duty.¹² Figure 5 shows flight training trends during the period.

Retention also got a boost from a major change in the active duty obligation for flight training. In 1957, the rated officers commissioned through the AFROTC in 1954, the first year when a majority from that program went to flight training, came to the end of their three-year service obligations. Confirming previous estimates, 75 percent separated from active duty, an

Figure 5
Flight Training
 Fiscal Years 1954-1960



Navigator data is unknown for 1954 and is approximate for 1955. Sources: see appendix 3, Flight Training, Fiscal Years 1954-1974.

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unacceptably low retention from the Air Force's primary source of rated officers. Others could always be trained, but that could not obscure the small return from the service's large investment in those who separated. It took about twenty-two months for newly commissioned officers to complete flight training and to achieve a basic proficiency in the aircraft and mission of their unit. Another year was required to bring them to the point of full mission capability, only to have most separate from active duty a few months later.¹³

The adverse ramifications of the three-year obligation were most obvious in the flying units. Many units spent so much time training and upgrading replacement aviators that they had to take valuable time away from maintaining proficiency in their primary missions. Hardest hit among the major commands was the Strategic Air Command, whose bombers and tankers were flown by "hard crews." A hard crew consisted of members who trained and flew together in the belief that working with the same group fostered efficiency, cohesion, and pride in belonging to the small military unit each aircrew constituted. When a crew member departed for any reason, the hard crew became noncombat-ready until a replacement could be fully integrated. Largely as a result of the rapid turnover in aviators, fully 25 percent of SAC's crew strength was considered noncombat-ready in 1957.* Also, an unhealthy gap was developing among crew members throughout the Air Force in terms of years of service. Crew members increasingly tended to be either older men whose service began in World War II or younger officers just out of flight training and serving their first active duty tours.¹⁴

The Directorate of Military Personnel and the Directorate of Training began studying the problem in the early summer of 1957. The final report, issued in late July, recommended an immediate return to a five-year active duty obligation for rated officers. That had been the obligation until 1953 when procurement problems forced a reduction to three years. The recommendation was quickly accepted and implemented in pilot training two weeks later and in navigator training a few months after that.¹⁵

Since there was a need to reduce the number of pilots in fiscal year 1958 by some sixteen hundred to stay under lower strength ceilings, those in the primary (initial) phase of pilot training as well as those awaiting entry into training were given the option of a five-year rated tour or serving three years in nonrated duties. Aviation Cadets who declined the longer commitment received honorable discharges. Overall, slightly over half of all those in pilot training opted for the longer tour, but responses varied considerably. Among Aviation Cadets, always noted for having a high percentage of career-minded officers, about 85 percent elected rated duties and the longer service obligation. On the other hand,

* The figure of 25 percent of SAC crews being noncombat-ready was more a definition than a fact. If needed, all crews would have flown, although some probably with less efficiency than desired.

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AFROTC graduates confirmed their position as being the least interested in military life; only 39 percent made that choice.¹⁶

Since the retention of officers from the other two rated procurement sources, Aviation Cadets and the service academies, was good, the increased service obligation was aimed at the AFROTC. Most AFROTC students wished only to satisfy their military obligation while avoiding the peacetime draft; becoming an Air Force officer, rated or nonrated, remained an attractive alternative only so long as the commitment remained at three years. Raising the ante for rated officers to five years made flying a less desirable option. Since the majority of AFROTC students could enroll in the advanced (junior and senior) portion of the program only if they accepted flight training, the longer obligation would serve as a powerful deterrent to those with no real interest in the military. Winnowing out such students meant that those in advanced AFROTC would likely be, as a group, better motivated and thus more likely to remain in service beyond their minimum service obligations.

The positive motivation inherent in the longer commitment was more subtle. It was based on the solid premise that the longer individuals remained with an organization, including the military, the less likely they were to leave it. The Air Force had attractions for young men seeking a career, but the shorter tour did not allow them to weigh adequately those attractions. Literally, the three-year tour of rated officers was spent processing for active duty, in some sort of training status, and processing for separation. The longer obligation would allow individuals to sample Air Force life beyond the demands of training, enjoy the status of fully productive members of the team, and to become better socialized within the relatively close-knit military community.

As flight training declined, emphasis shifted from numbers to other issues; in pilot training, it shifted to quality. Trainees received more training missions, and jet aircraft were introduced earlier in the program. Increased use of jet aircraft led to the design of an advanced jet trainer for the 1960s, the supersonic T-38 Talon. At the same time, training was consolidated, with four of eleven primary flight training bases closed in the last three years of the decade.¹⁷

Among observers, the other rated group, efforts to modernize the force continued. The 1951 decision to send most observers through primary navigator training to facilitate transfer from one aircraft type to another had not been entirely successful. The level of proficiency attained was too low in most cases to allow a change of aircraft types without additional training. As a result, in 1954, the Air Training Command operated at least twenty-six observer courses, and observer training still suffered from a great deal of duplication and inefficiency. Many observers never received additional training, and by the mid-1950s perhaps twenty-five hundred were still on flying status and drawing flight pay, but with skills that were at best obsolescent. Some struggled along with training gained in World War II, skills that had been left far behind by technological change.¹⁸

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In 1954, many observer courses and the existing navigator training program were combined into a single, more comprehensive course called Primary-Basic Navigation, or PBN for short. Students who completed PBN were fully qualified navigators and could be assigned directly to almost any aircraft or any advanced navigation school. In 1956, at the suggestion of the Strategic Air Command, the name observer was dropped in favor of navigator, acknowledging the central skill of the rating. A year later, all officers possessing outdated observer skills were told to apply for training to qualify as navigators or face grounding.¹⁹

The consolidation of navigator training also extended into the advanced courses, mostly due to technological advances that either automated functions or allowed one individual to perform duties formerly requiring multiple crew members. In 1955, the number of advanced navigator courses stood at twelve, designed primarily to train crew members for the Strategic Air Command. Within a year, the number declined to eight when five of the Strategic Air Command courses became a single, comprehensive Advanced Navigator-Bombardier Course. By 1959, further consolidations reduced the number to three: Advanced Navigator-Bombardier (combined navigator and bombardier), Radar Intercept Officer (radar operators on airborne interceptors), and Electronic Warfare Officer (jammers of enemy electronic signals). Likewise, the number of navigator training bases fell from six in 1955 to three by the end of the decade.²⁰

Procurement: Decline and More Problems with AFROTC

Not surprisingly, the downward trend in the number of people in flight training and the overall reduction in service strength translated into reduced officer procurement. The number of new officers peaked in 1954, the same year that the AFROTC program became the primary commissioning program. The two smallest procurement sources, the service academies and the Officer Candidate School, remained stable and had no difficulty filling their modest quotas. West Point and Annapolis continued to provide about 300 graduates annually under the agreement signed in 1949, with virtually all service academy graduates going to pilot training. The OCS, the main commissioning program for enlisted personnel, produced about 450 new officers annually between 1953 and the middle of 1957. Almost all went to nonrated duties, although a few did earn wings. The elimination rate from OCS during the period was a bit higher than planned, but, with ten applicants for every opening, the Air Force had no problem filling classes. Unique among the commissioning programs, the OCS grew, if only slightly, during the last years of the decade when its annual quota was raised to 600 in 1958.²¹

Conversely, the Aviation Cadet Program, directed entirely toward the production of rated officers, fared poorly. It peaked in fiscal year 1954 when

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over eleven thousand cadets entered flight training. In that year, the AFROTC transitioned to a major rated procurement source, raising its contribution to flight training from a mere seventeen hundred in 1953 to over seven thousand a year later. Suddenly, the Air Force had two major sources of rated officers capable of furnishing numbers far in excess of need. Cuts had to be made, and the deciding factor on where to make those cuts was the service's long-standing goal of having a college-educated officer corps. That tipped the scales in favor of the AFROTC, which produced only college graduates, over the Aviation Cadet Program, which attracted few with college degrees. It came as no surprise when the blow fell squarely on the cadet program.²² The number of cadets entering training dwindled to approximately thirty-five hundred annually by 1957, when further cuts in flight training reduced entrants to about eleven hundred per year. By 1959, Aviation Cadets accounted for perhaps 12 percent of all new rated officers, quite a decline from the 70 percent of a few years earlier.²³

Otherwise, the problems of the Aviation Cadet program were largely those experienced earlier in the decade. The number of qualified applicants awaiting flight training occasionally dropped below a comfortable four-month backlog, but such shortages were brief. In 1958 and 1959, cadet resignations exceeded acceptable levels and triggered an investigation. The investigation found that, as in 1951, recruiters had highlighted glamour and excitement without mentioning the stress and travail of cadet life. As in 1951, recruiters were sternly admonished to give potential cadets a more balanced picture of what awaited them.²⁴

Within the AFROTC, now the major procurement program, the trend was also sharply downward. In 1954, over thirteen thousand AFROTC cadets were commissioned, and in 1955, the program exceeded its quota by almost 20 percent, despite attempts to limit its production. After that, however, the inability of the Air Force to live up to the letter of its commitments, such as in awarding some cadets Certificates of Completion instead of commissions (1954) and the raising of the active duty obligation for flight training to five years (1957), took their toll. In 1959, the AFROTC did not meet its production quota, producing fewer than four thousand officers.²⁵

The decline, in turn, exacerbated the problem of cost. The thirteen thousand officers produced in 1954 was from a total enrollment of roughly one hundred twenty-five thousand, a ratio of slightly more than one graduate per ten students. By 1959, the ratio was down to about one graduate per twenty students. Of the eighty thousand enrolled in 1959, fewer than one-tenth were in the advanced (junior and senior) course. A substantial minority, if not a majority, of freshmen and sophomores enrolled solely because slightly over half of the 180 institutions hosting AFROTC units required two years of military training. The bottom-heavy profile generated a considerable cost overhead since the service supported vast numbers of students who had no intention of taking more than two years of training. That led David S. Smith, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Man-

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power, Personnel, and Reserve Forces, to put the Air Force on record, in early 1957, as not supporting compulsory ROTC, although the final decision remained with the host institution.²⁶

Smith's action was only the latest in a long series of initiatives stretching back several years that attempted to make AFROTC cost-effective. In August 1953, the Air Staff recommended the immediate disestablishment of the twenty-eight least productive AFROTC units as a cost-cutting measure, but the idea was shelved by H. Lee White, Smith's predecessor as Assistant Secretary. White believed that the sudden withdrawal of so many AFROTC units would leave the Air Force open to public and congressional criticism. Since the service was already in the early stages of the Certificate of Completion furor, it was not a good time to court more on-campus trouble. White was not against closing some units, but he wanted it done in an unhurried manner and with full consideration of the alternatives.²⁷

Despite continuing pressure from the Air Staff, White made no further movement to reduce the number of AFROTC units until June 1954. By that time the AFROTC class embroiled in the Certificate of Completion controversy had graduated, placing that unpleasant episode at least partially in the past. It was also after Congress had approved the establishment of an Air Force Academy, thereby sparing decision-makers the potentially difficult task of explaining why the Air Force was cutting one college-oriented program while simultaneously supporting the creation of another.

Even then, White proceeded cautiously. He approved the disestablishment of the twenty-eight least productive units, but, fearful of a backlash from Congressmen defending colleges within their constituencies, he ordered the identities of the units kept secret until after Congress adjourned. Stretching the facts to cover his case, he directed that the letters to Congressmen and the media stress that the closings were related to changing the AFROTC from what had been predominately a procurement source for the Reserve forces to an active duty source and were not related to fluctuating manpower requirements. In that way he hoped to pass the episode off as an isolated occurrence not likely to be repeated.²⁸

Despite the fine tuning, the issue lay dormant until January 1955, when the Air Force convened a panel of distinguished civilian educators headed by Dr. Everett N. Case, President of Colgate University, to review the proposed disestablishment criteria and make recommendations concerning their implementation. Including university officials in the decision-making process was a calculated risk, since they could have been parochial, rejecting the whole idea just as easily as working with the Air Force to make closing the weaker units as acceptable on campus as possible.

The panel made its recommendations on January 10, 1955, and the Air Force breathed a sigh of relief. The panel accepted the need to eliminate the weaker units and agreed with the basic criterion that each unit must produce at

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least twenty-five graduates annually who were qualified for flight training. It also recommended that the types of students produced by an institution (preferably scientific or technical) and an institution's overall record of support for the AFROTC should influence the final decision. Beyond that, the panel recommended close cooperation with the host colleges to ensure that each was aware of what constituted a viable AFROTC unit and the need to make the AFROTC an effective, economically sound program. In their only major caveat, panel members urged that institutions be given until after the beginning of academic year 1955-56 to meet minimum productivity standards before being considered for disestablishment.²⁹

The panel's recommendations were accepted and were given to each college hosting an AFROTC unit in April 1955. That summer, a series of meetings between representatives of the AFROTC, the Air University, and the Air Staff identified forty-two schools that might not meet minimum standards. Further study after the beginning of the academic year trimmed the list to twenty-nine, and, in December 1955, Assistant Secretary Smith notified those schools that their AFROTC units would be eliminated.³⁰

The affected institutions replied with a barrage of protests in support of their students, whose opportunity for a military commission had been suddenly snatched from them. The protests forced yet another policy change. At the direction of Secretary of the Air Force Donald A. Quarles, an AFROTC detachment would be closed only if the host institution concurred with that decision. Only eight of the twenty-nine agreed. Another, Yale University, requested its unit be closed although it had not been one of the original twenty-nine. In sum, the Air Force had labored mightily for almost three years to eliminate the weaker AFROTC units and had little to show for it.³¹

Poor retention of AFROTC graduates, the closure controversy, Certificates of Completion instead of commissions, and program costs only masked a deeper malaise that crippled the AFROTC in the late 1950s. At the core were the fundamental problems of shared power, divergent interests, and the contradictions inherent in trying to force the AFROTC, which required four years to train and commission an officer, to accommodate to rapidly changing manpower requirements. Unique among the officer procurement programs, the AFROTC was not totally under military control. It operated as a part of each university under an agreement between the service and the host institution. That arrangement made the AFROTC, in the words of Maj. Gen. Turner C. Rogers, the AFROTC Commandant:

... essentially a joint venture—a working partnership—between the educational institution and the Air Force. . . . This implies close collaboration between the partners in the solution of ROTC problems and the formulation of ROTC policy.³²

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Maj. Gen. Turner C. Rogers,
AFROTC Commandant,
1956-1961.

Such an arrangement worked only if the partners shared similar goals with an acceptable division of power. The host institutions allowed the AFROTC to function as a part of the institution and encouraged students to enroll. In return, the host expected the service to honor the contracts given students entering the advanced program. That fit well the academic milieu, where stability and certainty were valued as essential to learning, but it caused trouble in the capricious world of military manpower, where changes in the defense budget, alterations to the service's mission, and changing personnel requirements could have major impacts. When the Air Force changed the rules, the institution leaped to the defense of students whose plans had been disrupted.

The inevitable results were resentment and a sense of betrayal on the part of those representing the institutions. Most colleges accepting disestablishment of their AFROTC units did so with formal expressions of regret, but occasionally other feelings surfaced. Writing in February 1956, Dr. John S. Millis, President of Western Reserve University, also expressed regrets, but penned a conclusion to his letter:

We do not feel that it is morally proper to encourage enrollment . . . in a program the completion of which we cannot guarantee since the Air Force is unwilling, or perhaps . . . unable to make any commitment except from year to year. We cannot again place ourselves in the position of urging registration of students to whom we cannot guarantee instruction.³³

As for the AFROTC being a "working partnership," many in the colleges viewed that statement as a verbal fig leaf to hide near total, if not total, military control. The military developed the AFROTC curriculum, controlled who did and did not enter their programs, and appointed the AFROTC staff personnel on each campus virtually free of university influence. In the opinion of critics, the

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officers who headed ROTC units, known in AFROTC as Professors of Air Science and Tactics, functioned more like foreign ambassadors than faculty members. They enjoyed head of department status, but ran their departments virtually without university input and entered into campus affairs only when their constituencies were involved. Their instructions came from the service, and it was to the service that they owed their loyalties.³⁴

The feeling on the military side, equally strong, was one of frustration for a number of reasons. Regardless of the benefit of a unit to the Air Force, the academic institutions had veto power over AFROTC unit closings. In every major manpower decision, the service had made an extra effort to shield the AFROTC from adverse impact. Most students who, in 1954, received Certificates of Completion later received Air National Guard commissions. After the reduction in flight training in 1957, AFROTC graduates selected for graduate school in critically needed nonrated specialties were excused from attending flight training. When the active duty commitment for flight training was raised to five years in 1957, all advanced AFROTC students were given three options instead of two. They could select flight training with a five-year obligation, stand on their original contract of flight training and a three-year obligation, or elect three years in nonrated duties. Finally, the Air Force had expended a great deal of time and money on the AFROTC in the pursuit of college-educated officers. By 1957, those expenditures included a fleet of eighty-one small, single-engine aircraft (L-17s purchased from the Army) to give flying experience to students bound for flight training.³⁵

In academic year 1957-58, the Air Force, in an effort to avoid criticism, made a major change in the contracts signed by those entering advanced AFROTC. The change released the service from any firm commitment with regard to active duty assignments, but the contract still guaranteed each graduate a commission. Students destined for rated duties signed a statement of understanding that their entry into flight training would be contingent on service needs when they graduated, and those headed for nonrated duties were told that their duties might not be related to their college majors.³⁶

Nevertheless, by late 1957, the Air Force had reluctantly accepted the fact that the AFROTC alone could not satisfy its need for college-educated officers. The contracts signed by advanced students, the four years needed to produce a second lieutenant, and the considerable influence of the educational institutions made it impossible to bend the program to meet rapidly changing manpower needs. Whereas the OCS and Aviation Cadet programs could be manipulated at will with scarcely a word of protest, any change in the AFROTC had to be made cautiously with an eye to the effect on campus. The only alternative was to develop a procurement program that could produce college-educated officers and still respond to rapid changes in manpower needs.

The framework for the new program took shape within the Directorate of Personnel Procurement and Training in the last half of 1958. It was not difficult

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to formulate, at least not in its basic parameters, since the simultaneous demands of quality, quantity, and responsiveness clearly pointed toward a type of OCS training for college graduates only. Precedent already existed in two successful Navy programs: the Officer Candidate Program, established in 1951, and the Aviation Officer Candidate Program, established in 1955.³⁷

The Air Force's answer was the Officer Training School, which provided three months of intensive academic and military training leading to a commission for both rated and nonrated officers. Only college graduates or those within six months of graduation could apply, but unlike the Aviation Cadets, there was no restriction on marital status for those destined for rated duties.³⁸

Interested college students took the standard battery of mental and physical examinations and were interviewed by a board of officers. During the interviews, the officers measured applicants' maturity and knowledge of the Air Force, probed their motivations, and, in general, tried to see if they had common sense. The board's comments and recommendations, along with the results of the mental and physical examinations and college transcripts, constituted the individual's selection portfolio. Based on the individual's interests and the results of the screening process, applicants accepted into OTS were assigned to career fields before notification of tentative selection to the program. Final selection was contingent on acceptance of the assignment offered. The entire process from application to commissioning remained under military control.³⁹

The initial response to the program was good. Testing began in April 1959, and by the time the first selection board convened in September, almost six hundred applicants had passed their initial screening and were in competition for the seventy-five openings in the first class. The trend remained favorable, and the service had no difficulty in finding sufficient college graduates to meet the program's modest initial goal of three hundred graduates in fiscal year 1960.⁴⁰

When the OTS program was first announced in October 1958, considerable effort went into ensuring that it was not taken as a threat to the AFROTC program. The head of each AFROTC unit informed his host college that OTS only augmented existing programs and would not replace any of them. That statement, however, was only partly true. The OTS program did not threaten the AFROTC program. The long history of ROTC and the prestige it lent the military through association with the nation's institutions of higher learning gave ROTC too much status to be considered for elimination whatever problems plagued it. When the OTS reached maturity, and produced sufficient numbers, it would become the buffer between the AFROTC and the requirements of military manpower which shifted year-to-year. The OTS would be the responsive program that protected the on-campus program from sudden changes in requirements, rated or nonrated, and do it with college graduates.

The OTS shadow fell most heavily on the Aviation Cadet and OCS programs. Both programs were small, which made them less cost-effective, and neither had attracted more than a few college graduates since the end of the

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Korean War. Yet the service found them indispensable in meeting fluctuations in manpower requirements. As OTS reached a higher level of production it filled that role nicely, thereby eliminating the need for both the older programs. By 1960, the Aviation Cadet and OCS programs were, in a sense, waiting for the OTS numbers to catch up with them and for their status to change from obsolescent to obsolete.

Pressure on the Rated Force

A numerical issue over and above the overall force reduction was how many rated officers the Air Force needed and could justify before Congress. The problem had surfaced briefly in 1953 when a study commissioned by Secretary of Defense Wilson faulted the management of the rated force and recommended periodic screenings to identify those in excess of requirements or unsuited for continued flying duty. At issue was supporting rated officers in nonrated billets with flight pay and the aircraft needed to satisfy their minimum monthly flight requirements. Although the study included all the military services, it focused primarily on the Air Force, whose rated cadre had doubled to sixty-eight thousand in just three years. The study fueled fears that Congress might unilaterally order a reduction in rated strength as a quick cost-cutting measure as soon as the war ended in Korea. Worse, Congress might also decide how many and where the cuts should be made.⁴¹

Rather than take that chance, the Defense Secretary stepped in. On August 3, 1953, exactly one week after the Korean armistice, Dr. John Hannah, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel, ordered the military services to establish periodic reviews to identify and remove from flying status officers too old for the grade in which they served, those who possessed only obsolete skills, or those who were not likely to progress any further in rated duties. As ordered, representatives of the three services consulted with each other, exchanged ideas, and shared their work as each tried to formulate its own solution to the problem. The Air Force's proposal arrived on Hannah's desk in mid-October.⁴²

The proposal called for a Flight Status Evaluation System to remove from flying status those officers who had little potential for service in command, staff, or combat positions in time of war. Grade and age made up the primary criteria, but negative information, such as a lack of proficiency, personality defects, and substandard performance, could be considered. Flight Evaluation Boards, meeting periodically for the purpose, would oversee the system. The proposal won quick approval, and the Flight Status Evaluation System was in place by the beginning of 1954.⁴³

As it turned out, Congress did not take the expected interest in the rated force, at least while the Air Force continued to expand. To be sure, there was

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some pressure to keep the number of rated officers down, but not enough to create a real burden. Given a little unexpected breathing space, the Air Force, always willing to accommodate its rated force, did not pursue the mandate inherent in the Flight Status Evaluation System with any vigor. Between 1954 and 1957, only about one hundred rated officers per annum were grounded, an annual rate of less than 0.2 percent.⁴⁴

In the meantime, rated officers in nonflying billets continued to meet the minimum flying requirements (one hundred hours annually) to maintain minimum proficiency levels. More to the point, they flew the minimum four hours per month necessary to qualify for flight pay, a practice cynically, but accurately, called "four for pay." The aircraft they flew were no longer suited for first-line service. Of the 3,772 aircraft used militarywide to support proficiency flying, only 815 were jet-propelled, and they were obsolescent variants of the F-80, the nation's first operational jet fighter that first flew in January 1944. While the 228 C-54 transports might also be termed obsolescent, the remaining aircraft were obsolete machines of World War II vintage, or even earlier, with no place in the Air Force of the late 1950s. Still, proficiency flying continued without interference until 1957, the year the Air Force's strength peaked.⁴⁵

By 1957, the number of officers had increased by about thirteen thousand since the end of the Korean War, but with a telling difference in the distribution. The rated force had increased by over fifteen thousand while the nonrated figures had actually declined by over two thousand. Of the seventy-eight thousand rated officers, over twenty thousand, dubbed the "Chair Corps," occupied rated staff positions or nonrated billets, but still met flight proficiency requirements and collected flight pay. In early 1957, the \$300 million annual price tag of proficiency flying, especially the \$225 million spent by the Air Force, caught the disapproving eye of Secretary Wilson. Fearing that such expenditures and loose management of the rated force could not be defended in a time of declining manpower, the Secretary ordered the Air Force to do something about the situation, and do it quickly, or he would impose his own restrictions. Since no organization wishes to have a solution forced upon it, the service suddenly got serious about some of its rated management policies.⁴⁶

In early May, the Air Force's response, signed by Brig. Gen. Maurice A. Preston, Deputy Director of Operations, was forwarded to the Defense Secretary. Henceforth, flight evaluation boards would apply rigorous standards to identify and ground overaged or physically unfit officers, those with obsolete rated skills, or those who could not return to flying without extensive retraining. Effective immediately, the maximum number of proficiency hours allotted each rated officer annually was trimmed from 120 to 110, and the number of proficiency flights was curtailed. That cut some 120,000 aircraft hours and saved an estimated \$12 million. The criteria for voluntary grounding, almost totally restrictive since the "fear of flying" episode during the Korean War, were relaxed by virtually promising favorable consideration to anyone thirty-five

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years of age or older with over ten years rated service who no longer wished to fly. As a long-range objective, General Preston promised to modernize the fleet of aircraft used in proficiency flying.⁴⁷

As it turned out, Secretary Wilson's initiative and the Air Force's response helped, at least temporarily, to take the sting out of events the following year. In May 1958, the House Appropriations Committee examined proficiency flying during fiscal year 1959 budget hearings and found much it disliked. Committee members summarized their displeasure by accurately charging:

It is evident that a great deal of this flying is . . . for continued flight pay for officers . . . under the guise of maintaining proficiency by flying any aircraft available a minimum number of hours each month.⁴⁸

However, the committee knew of the initiatives taken to manage better the rated force and deferred any immediate action, but ordered each service to submit progress reports the following January.

In September 1958, Presidential Assistant Meyer Kestnbaum added fuel to the fire when he finished a study commissioned by the President's personal staff. Kestnbaum agreed with the Appropriations Committee that proficiency flying was largely for the purpose of collecting flight pay. He also charged that too many personnel had wings and that proficiency flying was not only expensive but also ineffective, since technological changes made true proficiency impossible except in first-line aircraft. Noting that flying had become safer, Kestnbaum carried his critique a step further by questioning flight pay for anyone except those in high-performance aircraft or in combat. In place of awarding flight pay on the traditional basis of rank and years of service, he advocated a graduated system based on risk and the length of time associated with hazardous flying.⁴⁹

When he drafted his report to the House Appropriations Committee in January 1959, Secretary of the Air Force James Douglas could, fortunately, cite a number of accomplishments since the middle of 1957, although in retrospect, the issue had lapsed into one of money rather than quality control. Overall, the Air Force's rated cadre had declined by some six thousand, enough to make a favorable impact on budget allocation. The Flight Status Selection System had aided in that reduction by grounding over twenty-eight hundred officers, and he could promise similar vigorous action in the future. The aircraft used in the flight proficiency program had been upgraded by replacing over one thousand of the older conventional aircraft with about seven hundred jets. Finally, the amount of proficiency flying done on logistic support missions had increased and equaled that done purely for proficiency. He answered the Kestnbaum Report's recommendation on flight pay by noting the positive effect of the current system in the important areas of officer procurement and retention.⁵⁰

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The latest brush with Congress ended, at least temporarily, without major difficulty, although the basic conflict remained. Congress was less interested in rated proficiency than in reducing support for large numbers of rated officers in nonflying billets with both an expensive flight proficiency program and flight pay. In that light, the minor adjustments reported by Secretary Douglas amounted to little more than palliatives that came nowhere near dealing with that problem. In fact, the events of 1957-59 were only a skirmish in a conflict destined to linger for years.

* * * * *

The force reduction of the late 1950s ended the growth that had largely dominated Air Force personnel policies since the beginning of the Korean War. Flight training, no longer pressed to produce large numbers of rated officers, could turn its attention to consolidating training and modernizing equipment, trends that would continue into the 1960s. The end of the growth period also brought to a head problems with rated management and the AFROTC. Faced with a Department of Defense and a Congress that would no longer tolerate spending millions of dollars annually to maintain excess rated officers on flight status, the Air Force made its first serious effort since World War II to manage better its rated force. The problem with the AFROTC was essentially the same one that had surfaced during the force reduction at the end of the Korean War: the inability to force a long-term procurement program to accommodate the short-term needs of military manpower. This led to the creation of an alternate, short-term program, the OTS, that would provide college graduates and protect the AFROTC against manpower fluctuations.

The massive RIF that ended the decade pointed to another difficulty, this one beyond the control of the military. A reasonable stability was necessary if the military services, which had no authority to hold anyone beyond their minimum service obligations, was to retain officers in the quantity and quality necessary for effective leadership. The sudden lowering of manpower ceilings saved money, but did nothing to make military service an attractive career. Until the executive and legislative branches of the government reached a level of agreement on the nation's military needs, a reasonable stability, one of the traditional attributes of the peacetime military, was beyond reach.

Chapter Eight

Initial Attempts to Resolve the Major Issues 1960–1966

In many ways, the major officer personnel issues of the first half of the 1960s were continuations of the issues of the previous five years, only, in some cases, they were more intense. Temporary field grade promotions were threatened, even though the reform of the entire promotion system, begun in 1958, continued. The drive to keep young officers beyond their obligated tours escalated sharply when the initiatives of the previous half decade failed to solve the service's officer retention problem. Finally, members of the large quantity of officers commissioned during World War II began retiring in numbers unprecedented in American military history. While retirement might have seemed a good way to relieve the promotion difficulties haunting the service, the management of such a mass exodus engendered its own set of problems.

It was also the time when the military establishment made its first major effort to revise the legal statutes governing officer personnel matters. At the heart of the problem were the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 and the Officer Grade Limitation Act of 1954. The former, reflecting earlier concepts that had governed the smaller peacetime military, was outdated by the changes wrought by the escalation of the Cold War and a much larger peacetime military establishment. The OGLA of 1954 corrected the lack of controls on temporary promotions, one of the deficiencies of the OPA of 1947, by placing limits on the number of field grade billets. However, those limits soon became intolerable, forcing the Air Force to seek grade relief in 1959.

All the military services, not just the Air Force, needed an updating of the OPA of 1947 that considered the changes that accompanied the emergence of the large standing military of the Cold War. A committee of seven retired flag officers appointed by Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy undertook that difficult task. The committee was chaired by retired Army general Charles L. Bolte.¹

The Bolte Committee and Its Proposed Legislation

The Bolte Committee, officially the Ad Hoc Committee to Study and Revise the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, first convened in August 1960. Over the next four months, the committee developed some forty-three working papers dealing with officer management. The working papers addressed strikingly different issues, ranging from what to do with temporarily incapacitated generals to new grade distribution tables from second lieutenant to general officer. Each working paper was sent in turn to each of the services for their comments before being revised and included in the overall report.²

The 200-page Bolte Committee report, entitled "A Concept of Career Management for Officer Personnel of the Armed Services," arrived on Secretary McElroy's desk in December 1960. By November 1962, it had been translated into a formal legislative proposal of 160 pages popularly known as the Bolte bill. It went to Congress in March 1963 as DOD 88-8, the 8th Department of Defense legislative initiative placed before the 88th Congress.³

The bulk of the proposed Bolte legislation outlined a new promotion system for the three services. In its most important component, temporary and permanent promotions would be combined in a single system and all promotions would be temporary. As vacancies occurred in the permanent rank structure, Regular officers would automatically have their promotions made permanent without further board action. The new policy approximated that already governing Reserve officers, who could convert their temporary promotions to permanent Reserve grades after a short period of time. More important, the provision would bring Reserve and Regular officers into more direct competition with each other, a boost to both quality control and efforts to raise the status of Reserve officers.⁴

In the second major change in promotions, the Bolte bill recommended that eligibility for promotion be based on time in grade rather than years of service. Captains with six years time in grade, would enter the "primary zone" of consideration for major, while the requirements for lieutenant colonel and colonel were six and five years, respectively. The majority of officers selected for the next higher grade would be those in the primary zone. Those consistently promoted in the primary zone would achieve the rank of major in eleven years, lieutenant colonel in seventeen, and colonel in twenty-two.⁵

For truly outstanding officers, the proposed legislation provided the means for rapid advancement. Accelerated promotions had been adopted in theory by the Department of Defense in the late 1950s but had not been put into practice. The Bolte bill recommended that outstanding performers, no more than 10 percent in each promotion cycle, be promoted into and within the field grades ahead of their contemporaries. Known as the "secondary zone" of consideration,

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Gen. Charles L. Bolte, U.S. Army, retired,
chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee to Study
and Revise the Officer Personnel Act of 1947.



or "below the zone," the accelerated eligibility would allow the exceptional few to attain the rank of major as early as the eighth year of service, lieutenant colonel in the twelfth year, and colonel in the sixteenth.⁶

Backing up the new promotion system were new field grade authorizations. The OGLA of 1954 authorized field grade billets as a function of the number of active duty officers, with different ratios for each service, but the Bolte bill advocated a sliding scale using a hypothetical number of Regular officers as a base, sixty-seven thousand in the case of the Air Force. If the services had only Regular officers, 7 percent could be colonels, 13 percent lieutenant colonels, and 19 percent majors. Above the Regular officer base, the field grade quotas would vary according to how much the active duty officer force exceeded that base. At 80 percent above the base, roughly the situation in the early 1960s, the field grade percentages could be 5.5, 12.35, and 17.7 percent. Translated into numbers, the proposal gave the Air Force about forty-three thousand field grade billets, an increase of about five thousand over the OGLA of 1954.⁷

The Air Force jumped on the Bolte bandwagon and stayed there. Support for the Bolte legislation enjoyed the highest priority on the service's personnel legislation agenda, mainly because of the proposed field grade tables and the promise that, within five years of enactment, the Air Force could offer promotion opportunities on a par with the other services. That was more than sufficient to override objections to some parts of the bill, such as a ceiling on general officers lower than either the service or the Defense Department had recommended.⁸

Yet despite the support of the Department of Defense and the military services, and despite promises of Congressional action, the Bolte bill did not pass the 88th Congress. In fact, it was virtually ignored. In 1965, the Department of Defense withdrew the bill to update it in light of events since its original submission. Reduced to 138 pages and dubbed "Baby Bolte," it was resubmitted that same year to the 89th Congress as DOD 89-3. There it

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gathered dust until again withdrawn in 1966, this time for good. The Bolte bill had failed.⁹

The flaw that ultimately felled the Bolte legislation was its overly ambitious scope. Whereas the OPA of 1947 contained separate sections for the Army (which included the Army Air Forces at the time) and the Navy, the Bolte legislation attempted to impose uniformity wherever practical. Secretary McElroy had imposed the uniformity principle, probably to restrain squabbling as each service tried to overcome advantages, real or imagined, enjoyed by another service in the competition for skilled manpower. The Bolte Committee accepted the edict, although the members recognized the danger of appearing to impose uniformity for its own sake on organizations dissimilar in their use of officers, especially when those organizations wanted flexibility in addressing their personnel issues.¹⁰

The committee's uneasiness about uniformity was well founded. Each service protested at least some of the Bolte provisions, apparently in direct proportion to how much their existing system was altered. The Navy had the mildest objections while the Army registered the most serious ones. Speaking for his service, Army Secretary Elvis J. Stahr Jr. cited satisfaction with his service's existing officer personnel system and accused the Bolte Committee of ignoring the fundamental differences between the services. Although the Army ultimately supported the Bolte legislation, that support came grudging and almost surely resulted from high-level pressure from within the Defense Department. Even then, dissatisfaction lurked just below the surface. As late as 1965, after Baby Bolte had been submitted to Congress, the Army continued to have serious reservations and even hinted at withdrawing its support.¹¹

The other problem was the Bolte legislation's complexity. The effort to regulate so many facets of officer policy left it awash in minutia. The previously mentioned provisions for dealing with temporarily incapacitated general officers was merely one example. It was at the suggestion of such influential senators as Barry M. Goldwater (R-Arizona) and Richard B. Russell (D-Georgia) that the original Bolte bill was rewritten and simplified in an effort to gain approval. Although Baby Bolte was twenty-two pages thinner and some marginal issues had been removed, it still drew fire.¹²

Objections and complexities aside, the Bolte legislation was undercut by the continuing, and by now familiar, patterns of uncertainty. Since the end of World War II demobilization (1947), the American military had undergone three reductions-in-force (1949–1950, 1954, and 1957–1960), a period of rapid growth (1950–1953), and only two brief periods of personnel stability (1947–1949 and 1955–1957). In late 1961, the Kennedy administration mobilized elements of the Reserve component and began yet another buildup, albeit a relatively small one, in response to Soviet threats to western access rights to West Berlin and, in general, to provide better military options short of nuclear retaliation. In October 1962, over fourteen thousand Air Force Reservists were

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briefly ordered to active duty in response to the Soviet Union's introduction of ballistic missiles into Cuba. The growth trend was briefly interrupted in 1964 by a small force reduction just before the growing involvement in Vietnam once more began to increase the roles. When Baby Bolte was submitted, moreover, the country had plunged into the Vietnam War, and there began another period of upheaval inappropriate for undertaking long-term programs.¹³

That continuing pattern of uncertainty about the long-term Cold War military needs of the nation could only have added to Congressional reluctance to take up such a sweeping piece of legislation. More likely, Congress preferred keeping a tight rein on military personnel matters rather than enacting legislation it might later have to amend or perhaps even rescind. Long-term personnel initiatives in the mold of the Bolte legislation would be much easier to deal with in tranquil times, and the 1960s were simply not such times.

The failure of Congress to act on the Bolte legislation subjected the Air Force to a further period of uncertainty and turbulence. The disproportionately large number of World War II officers clustered together in years of service that had forced the service to seek grade relief in 1959 for the rank of major remained the most serious officer personnel problem. Only now, the pressure was increasing and moving into the field grade ranks above major. Worse, the options for dealing with the problem remained as limited as ever.

Promotions: More Stagnation and More Relief

In 1959, Congress granted authority for the Air Force to exceed the OGLA of 1954's ceiling on majors until June 30, 1961. By then, the Bolte Committee recommendations, translated into a legislative proposal, would provide the foundation for the three military services to fashion an officer corps compatible with contemporary needs, or so went the logic. However, when the Bolte legislation first faltered and then foundered, the Air Force faced almost the same crisis in temporary promotions that it had confronted in 1959. Again, only the temporary system was threatened since, as in the past, the permanent promotion of Regular officers enjoyed the protection of the OPA of 1947.

Since the problem—the conflict between the field grade ceilings of the OGLA of 1954 and the upward movement of the hump of World War II officers—remained the same and no new alternatives were available, the solution also remained the same. Four times between 1961 and 1966, the Air Force petitioned Congress for additional field grade billets. Each time, the justification was identical: if Congress did not act, the Air Force would have to halt temporary promotions, demote Regular officers to their permanent grades, separate Reserve officers, and deny advancement to many officers who had been selected for promotion in anticipation of favorable Congressional action but who had not yet assumed the higher rank.¹⁴

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Although the procedures and justification for field grade relief stayed the same, each of the requests made in the 1960s differed from the others and from the 1959 request. The differences reflected the changing profile of the officer corps. Figure 6, showing the years of service for line officers in September 1964, illustrates the change. The World War II hump, clustered around the twenty-year point, had been severely attenuated, mostly through retirements. The Korean War bulge was grouped at ten to fifteen years of service, with large numbers of officers entering the period of their careers when they must be considered for the field grade positions. The conflict between the OGLA of 1954 and the ability of the Air Force to offer acceptable promotion opportunities into and within the field grade ranks extended all the way to colonel, rather than being limited to the grade of major as in 1959.

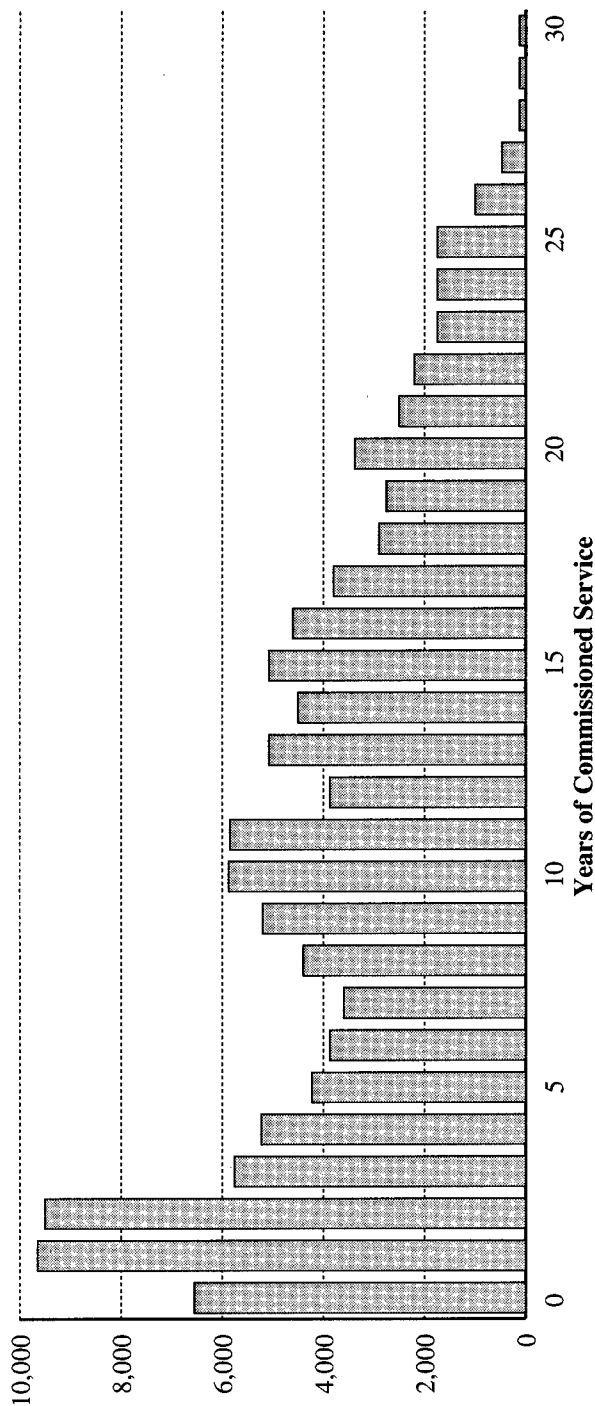
In June 1961, with expiration of the 1959 legislation, the conflict had escalated to the rank of lieutenant colonel. To keep promotion opportunities to major and lieutenant colonel at acceptable levels, the Air Force requested 6,285 additional billets for lieutenant colonels for the next two years. Although the promotions of 3,625 captains to temporary major also hinged on Congressional action, no additional major billets were requested, but none were really needed. Since promoting a major to lieutenant colonel also freed an additional major's billet, the lower rank would be provided for by this trickle down effect.¹⁵

The request got no further than the Bureau of the Budget. Upset with the \$42.5 million price tag, and optimistic that the Bolte effort would win quick Congressional approval, the budget staff approved only three thousand additional billets for a period of one year. The Defense Department, equally optimistic about the Bolte legislation, accepted the lower figure, although it clearly would not allow the Air Force to offer acceptable promotion opportunities to either major or lieutenant colonel.¹⁶

In his testimony before the House committee hearing the bill, Secretary of the Air Force Eugene Zuckert supported the 3,000 billets figure because his position in the hierarchy required him to back the defense department position and because he did not wish to create problems that might harm the Bolte legislation. Still, under questioning by Representative Paul Kilday (D-Texas), Zuckert admitted that the 3,000 billets were inadequate. Kilday agreed, but doubted that the original request for 6,285 billets could win approval. With the concurrence of the Air Force representatives present, Kilday offered a compromise of 4,800 additional lieutenant colonel billets for two years, a figure subsequently accepted by the entire House.¹⁷

The hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee brought praise for the effort to provide promotion opportunities, but little generosity. Senator Richard Russell, committee chairman, indirectly suggested that the service live with fewer field grade promotion opportunities, at least until passage of the Bolte bill. He also dismissed the idea of 6,285 additional lieutenant colonel billets and asked for the cost figures both for the 4,800 billets approved by the

Figure 6
Years of Service—Regular and Reserve Line Officers
 1964



Sources: briefing, subj: H.R. 15005 (to amend section 8202, Title 10, US Code)—Field Grade Officer Limitations, undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 105 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

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House and for 4,000 billets. Meeting in executive session, the committee selected the lower figure. In September 1961, Public Law 194, 87th Congress (PL 87-194), was passed, allowing the Air Force to exceed the ceiling on lieutenant colonels by 4,000 billets until June 30, 1963.¹⁸

When PL 87-194 expired, the Bolte bill had been submitted to Congress only three months before, too short a time for it to have received serious consideration. With little fanfare, Public Law 63, 88th Congress (PL 88-63), extended the four thousand additional lieutenant colonel billets until June 30, 1965. As yet, the Bolte bill did not appear to be in trouble.¹⁹

The situation was clearer, and grimmer, in 1965, as PL 88-63 neared its expiration date. Although the Bolte legislation remained technically alive, it had been tacitly written off by the Defense Department. Within the Air Force, contingency plans anticipating its eventual failure were under development. During the four years that the four thousand additional lieutenant colonels had been authorized, temporary promotion opportunities into and within all field grade ranks had fallen short, far short in some cases, of forecast levels.²⁰ Yet as long as the Bolte legislation had the breath of life, the Defense Department and Congress held the line against any long-term adjustments to the rank tables. Once again, the service, the defense establishment, and Congress opted for an interim measure, only this time for a more substantial one.

In March 1965, the Air Force sent its proposal for grade relief to the Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara. It called for an additional fifteen hundred colonel billets and six thousand lieutenant colonel billets for three years, with the additional majors' billets again trickling down. If approved, the new ceilings would, for the first time, give the Air Force temporary field grade promotion opportunities competitive, if not on a par, with the other services. For budgetary reasons, McNamara trimmed the request to eleven hundred colonels and five thousand lieutenant colonels and limited the exemption to a single year. Despite the efforts of Representative L. Mendel Rivers (D-South Carolina), Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, to make the exemption valid for three years, McNamara's proposal won Congressional approval as Public Law 157, 89th Congress (PL 89-157), in August 1965.²¹

In 1966, PL 89-157 expired, the proposed Bolte legislation was permanently withdrawn from consideration, and the country was deeply committed in Vietnam. No legislation had appeared to replace the Bolte bill, and none was likely so long as the Vietnam War consumed the energies of the military services and Congress. Yet, the Air Force had an acknowledged need for additional field grade billets, and Congress passed Public Law 606, 89th Congress (PL 89-606), that contained, for the first time, long-term grade relief. The new legislation contained more generous tables for colonel and lieutenant colonel than those in the OGLA of 1954, and it made *permanent* the increase of eleven hundred additional colonels and five thousand lieutenant colonels granted on an interim basis in 1965 by PL 89-157.²²

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Further, PL 89-606 made room for the hump formed by the large number of officers commissioned during the Korean War as they progressed through the field grade ranks. For six years, the service could exceed the new permanent lieutenant colonel ceiling by 1,000 billets. In addition to the billets that could accrue from the trickle down effect, the ceiling on the grade of major could be exceeded by 9,500 billets in FY 1967, declining in increments each year to 1,585 in FY 1973.²³

PL 89-606 provided field grade ceilings high enough and flexible enough to allow the Air Force, for the first time, to offer temporary promotion opportunities equal to the other services. PL 89-606 ended a half decade of uncertainty when inadequate grade relief had subjected Reserve officers to unacceptable levels of strain due to problems with the temporary promotion system. It had also been a half decade in which the Air Force had adopted a number of ad hoc measures in a desperate effort to keep any sort of temporary promotion system at all.

The Air Force, in its most obvious measure, selected officers for promotion in excess of the available temporary billets each time grade relief legislation came before Congress. In the spring of 1961, the number selected for temporary major was three times the number of available billets, and twenty-five hundred were selected for temporary lieutenant colonel with only six hundred billets available. In 1963, over forty-six hundred won promotion to temporary major with only three hundred billets immediately available, and the temporary promotions of five thousand officers into and within the field grade ranks rested entirely on Congress granting grade relief. The tactic mildly annoyed some Congressmen, who resented the blatant attempt to pressure them, but most ignored it, tacit acknowledgement of its utility.²⁴

None of the grade relief measures through 1963 proved adequate, and as more and more officers from the hump years entered competition for field grade rank, they were selected for promotion in numbers in excess of the available temporary billets even *with* the grade relief measures. Normally, an officer selected for a temporary rank could expect to pin on the higher rank within either the same fiscal year or within a calendar year after selection. Sometimes, however, the number of vacant billets that accrued through natural attrition fell short of what was predicted, and a few officers had to be carried over until sufficient billets became available to promote them.

The number carried over began to increase when the field grade relief bill passed in 1959 failed to provide the needed billets, forcing the Air Force to carry over 900 officers scheduled for promotion in FY 1960 into FY 1961. The situation deteriorated rapidly after 1961 when Congress approved only 4,000 additional lieutenant colonel billets in lieu of the 6,285 requested. Some officers selected for promotion in FY 1962 remained in carry-over status for more than two years, and as many as 5,000 officers were in that status in FY 1965 when Congress began to enact truly adequate relief legislation.²⁵

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Unfortunate as these measures were, they might have been tolerable had not the service introduced the "up-or-out" system which forced the attrition of all Reserve officers who twice failed temporary promotion to the same grade. Formerly, only *Regular* officers had been penalized for twice failing *permanent* promotion. Now, all officers had to either go "up" (be promoted) or they were "out" (eliminated), a demarcation that gave the entire promotion system, temporary and permanent, the name it bears to this day.

Actually, up-or-out encompassed a number of changes, but only two—accelerated promotions and forced attrition—were of lasting consequence. The former came about as a result of recommendations from the Cordiner Committee (1956) and the Bolte Committee (1960). Both had recommended that outstanding officers be promoted ahead of their contemporaries. In 1960, Secretary of the Air Force Dudley C. Sharp approved the accelerated promotion of promising officers to and within the temporary field grade ranks. Implemented the following year, up to 10 percent of those promoted to major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel could be selected below-the-zone. Officers selected below-the-zone could assume each new rank up to three years ahead of their contemporaries who followed the normal progression pattern, but not being selected below-the-zone did not constitute a promotion deferment. The major commands nominated those they wished considered for early promotion, and a central board made the actual selections as a part of each temporary promotion cycle for that particular rank.²⁶

The extension of up-or-out to temporary promotions was the logical next step after the 1959 switch to the best-qualified standard, and lower selection rates in permanent promotions put teeth in the "out" of that system. Fairness and quality control mandated that Reserve officers should face a similar test.²⁷

The success of up-or-out in the temporary system was, as with any personnel policy, largely based on its acceptance by the people it most affected, in this case, active duty Reserve officers. In broad terms, acceptance rested on Reservists believing that they had at least a reasonable chance of gaining the promotions necessary for a full career. As with the permanent system, the rank of major provided the critical test. It was the first rank where selection was on a best-qualified basis, and attaining it virtually guaranteed twenty years of service and retirement benefits.

The promotion opportunities adopted for the temporary system were fully qualified selection to first lieutenant and captain and best qualified to and within the field grades. The selection rates were set at 80 percent of those considered for the first time in the primary zone for major and lieutenant colonel and perhaps 45 percent for colonel. The percentages were only slightly lower than permanent promotions and struck a balance between the sometimes competing demands of career opportunities and quality control. In the case of major, factoring in those selected below-the-zone and the subsequent promotion of half those not selected on their first primary zone consideration added up to about

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a 93-percent promotion opportunity, not much less than the 97-percent rate offered Regular officers by the permanent system. Although media releases cautioned that the 80-percent figure was only an objective, it immediately became fixed as the standard on which acceptance of the system hinged.²⁸

Switching to up-or-out was a risky undertaking, given the lack of legal protection for temporary promotions and the uncertain conditions of the times. In fact, the 80-percent promotion opportunity to major and lieutenant colonel proved shaky from the very beginning. Between 1955 and 1959, grade ceilings had limited temporary promotions to slightly less than 50 percent of first-time eligibles for those two ranks. In 1960, the year before up-or-out began, only 70 percent of those considered for the first time won promotion to major. Still, the system held together for a few years, although grade ceilings kept the numbers promoted below the desired levels. In 1961, the first year of up-or-out, about 73 percent of first-time eligibles were promoted to major, and 333 Reserve captains who had twice failed selection were separated from active duty. The following year, the selection percentage for first-time eligibles crept up to 77 percent, but so did the number, 428, who twice failed and were separated. The temporary promotion of first-time eligibles to lieutenant colonel in 1961 and 1962 stayed at just below 70 percent. Promotion to temporary colonel hovered at about 30 percent, much less than the minimum desired 45 percent.²⁹

In 1963, the numbers caught up with up-or-out and temporary promotions. Promoting in anticipation of grade relief legislation and placing thousands of officers in carry-over status could provide only so much slack. When Congress failed to pass adequate grade relief, the headroom under OGLA ceilings quickly vanished and the temporary promotion system, unprotected by law, took the blow. In 1963, the temporary promotion opportunity of first time eligibles to major and lieutenant colonel tumbled to 60 percent, and forecasts for the next promotion cycle called for a further decline to 50 percent. Whatever acceptance up-or-out had enjoyed vanished overnight. Few Reserve officers would tolerate a system where as many as 20 percent faced elimination from active duty after having invested fourteen years of service. The Air Staff, and presumably Congress, was bombarded with threats of legal action, requests to correct records used by the selection boards, and simple letters of protest. The continuing high selection rates of Regular officers for permanent major and lieutenant colonel worsened the already tense situation.³⁰

The imposition of strict up-or-out for temporary promotions was quickly abandoned. Beginning in 1963, Reserve majors who twice failed promotion to temporary lieutenant colonel were retired after twenty years of service, just as before, but Reserve captains twice deferred from promotion to temporary major no longer faced automatic elimination. They became eligible for continuation on active duty in the rank of captain.

The Continued Captains Program, as it was known, was essentially another promotion board. Board members selected for further active duty those twice

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deferred captains who would likely have been promoted had the 80-percent promotion objective been attained. Those selected got four-year active duty contracts as captains. Those not selected were eliminated, thereby maintaining a modified form of up-or-out, and with it an increment of quality control. Not surprisingly, the four-year contracts carried those selected into their eighteenth year, the so-called "sanctuary zone," where they must, by law, be permitted to serve the additional two years needed for retirement. From 1964 to 1966, boards considered 1,700 twice deferred captains and selected 1,311 (77 percent) for continuation.³¹

While allowing the Air Force to more or less make good a first time 80-percent selection rate to major, and with it the chance for a twenty-year career, the Continued Captains Program also prevented promotions from becoming an even larger negative factor in officer retention, another problem area. Much as a large peacetime military constituted a new phenomenon in American history, so did retaining officers once they had served their minimum obligations. With no historical precedent to help find a solution, the retention problem became one of the most complex and frustrating issues of the time.

Officer Retention: No Easy Answers

Overall officer retention during the period was not that bad; in fact, it was quite good. In the late 1950s, almost 70 percent of young officers wished to serve beyond their obligated tours, well above the objective of 55 percent, but close examination revealed a considerable variation. Retention rates of officers commissioned through the Aviation Cadet and Officer Candidate programs, few of whom were college graduates, were 65 and 90 percent, respectively. Being less educated, they perceived that the service offered a better chance of upward mobility than the civilian world. Conversely, among officers commissioned through AFROTC, retention was a dreadful 28 percent. That figure, when combined with the procurement shift in the last half of the 1950s to AFROTC and, later, Officer Training School, constituted the basis of the problem. Having increasingly directed procurement toward a college-educated officer corps as a necessary part of a modern Air Force, the service now had to keep well-educated young officers beyond their minimum obligations. A retention rate of 28 percent from the major source of college-educated officers was unacceptable in light of AFROTC's expense and the service's drive to secure a college-educated officer corps.³²

The available data from the years between the Korean and Vietnam Wars showed that students in the nation's colleges and universities did not represent a rich lode of potential military talent. Generally, their attitudes toward military service were quite unlike those of Aviation Cadets and OCS graduates. Mainly the products of middle-class families and well aware of the opportunities made

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available to them by a college education, most looked toward a more lucrative civilian job market for their career choices. Expressions of antimilitary sentiments were rare, but the majority had little interest in military service and planned to avoid it, if possible. Many looked down on ROTC and the students in it. Even those in some form of ROTC made the length of active duty service (the shorter the better) a major consideration in selecting their branch of service. Selective service pressures, which forced many young men to seek commissions to avoid the draft, only added a negative motivator to an already difficult picture.³³

Regardless of the attitude expressed by those in the largest potential procurement pool, the retention challenge had to be met because so much was at stake. First, there was the matter of money. Training replacements for officers separating from the service was one of the largest personnel costs of the Air Force. In the case of rated officers, the costs were so great that even small increases in retention produced significant savings. In 1956, approximately forty-five hundred pilots separated from active duty. If only 25 percent of them had stayed, the savings realized in not having to train replacements would have outfitted seven tactical fighter wings with state-of-the-art aircraft.³⁴

Second, there was the limited ability of a military service to supplement its officers by lateral transfers, which perhaps could best be understood by comparing a military service to a civilian corporation. Corporations also lost executives, perhaps as many as 35 percent in the first four years of employment. Corporations, however, could easily hire executives from other, and presumably similar, businesses to fill positions virtually anywhere in the hierarchy. The military services lacked such flexibility because the three major environments of modern warfare—land, sea, and air—were too different for the three military services to use officers interchangeably. Officers could transfer their commissions to other services, but the reluctance to give up officers in which it had invested a considerable amount of time and money kept the numbers small, under one hundred annually, and all in the lower grades. By and large, each military service had to mold its officers through years of training, education, and varied assignments designed to develop the expertise necessary for leadership in the environment of that service. A military service that could not sufficiently produce officers in both quantity and quality jeopardized the future capability of its officer corps, and the Air Force faced exactly that problem as it came to grips with its retention problem.³⁵

The necessary first step in addressing the retention problem was understanding what motivated young officers, both before and after they joined the Air Force. Tables 12 and 13 show the results of surveys taken to measure that motivation. Table 12 tabulates the reasons given by young officers for seeking an Air Force commission. On the surface, there was no hint that the service would have a retention problem with such officers. With the exception of "filling military obligation," a catchall usually referring to draft-related moti-

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vation, all the reasons given were positive. However, the inability to assign a relative numerical value to each of the responses obscured the true significance of the draft in forcing young men to make choices about their military service. One survey found that draft pressures played a major role in the decisions of 44 percent of Air Force junior officers, but the actual percentage was surely higher.

Table 12

Reasons Cited by Young Officers For Joining the Air Force

1953-1963

(in *approximate* order of frequency of response)

1. Interest in aviation
2. Fulfilling military obligation
3. Make the Air Force a career
4. New experiences/travel
5. Education and training
6. More opportunities in the Air Force
7. Dissatisfied with civilian life
8. Patriotism
9. Prestige of being an officer

Sources: Francis D. Harding and Robert A. Bottenberg, "Attitudes and Career Intentions of Officer Training School Students," technical report PRL-TR-62-8 (Lackland AFB: Personnel Research Laboratory), May 1962, appendix 1; *Air Force Statistical Digest, FY 1958*, table 210, p. 416; Irving Krongelb, "A Comparative Study of ROTC and Non-ROTC Freshmen in a Liberal Arts College with Respect to Certain Attitudinal and Personality Variables." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1959, p. 17 and table XX, p. 77. For an analysis of how initial career intent translated into retention, see Faye Ewing and Ray W. Alvord, "USAF Officer Career Decisions: Predictability of Initial Career Intent," technical report PRL-TR-65-2 (Lackland AFB: Personnel Research Laboratory), Feb. 1965.

Unwilling to chance damaging themselves in the eyes of the military, some voiced what they perceived to be more acceptable reasons for seeking a commission. The sociologist Charles C. Moskos, Jr., was near the mark when he stated that the draft provided the major impetus for those joining the ROTC.³⁶

Their reasons for seeking an Air Force commission were largely beside the point. These officers provided the raw material, and the service had to make their obligated tours positive experiences to entice sufficient numbers to agree

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to additional service. Eliminating or reducing the negative features of military life became the central thrust of the retention program for the next decade.

The capability of the service to address the negative features varied greatly. Obviously, nothing could be done about the opportunities offered in civilian life and the ability of well-educated young officers to find lucrative employment. College had both prepared them for and made them fully aware of those opportunities. Similarly, patriotism and military prestige were dependent on factors over which military control was, at best, limited. In some areas, such as promotions, reforms were ongoing, but progress was much less than desired.

In other areas, the Air Force did have a limited capability to affect change. Family considerations was one example. Most married officers leaving active duty cited pressure from their wives as the major external source influencing their decision. Some families enjoyed seeing new places and making new friends, while others found repeatedly taking their children out of school and the inability to "put down roots" to be intolerable. Both sets of spouses disliked the sometimes lengthy absences imposed on the men by the unit mission. The members of a tactical airlift unit in the late 1960s cited family separation as their major reason for leaving active duty. A study of a B-29 unit in 1952 found that wives, few of whom worked, were particularly resentful when the unit deployed to another base and they were left behind. That resentment led to depression, apprehension, heavy drinking, and a high incidence of marital infidelity.³⁷

None of these factors boded well for either a stable marriage or a career in the Air Force, and while these conditions were probably extreme, they were indicative of a servicewide problem. The trend, beginning in the 1960s, of more women entering the work force undoubtedly eased the burden of many lonely wives, although, paradoxically, some officers then felt pressured to leave the service rather than disrupt their spouses' careers. The loss of many overseas bases and the retirement of the related aircraft, notably the fleet of B-47 bombers and associated KC-97 tankers, reduced the deployment of many units. Additionally, tours became more stable, for at least three years, and beginning in the 1970s, they could be voluntarily extended well beyond that.

Still, however, there remained the requirement and the problem: when the mission demanded it, aircraft and men must respond. Family separation and periodic relocations remained unfortunate realities of Air Force life. Many military careers, and probably many marriages as well, rested on how well officers and their spouses adjusted to those realities.

More amenable to solution, albeit over a protracted period, was the housing problem. Because of its relatively larger expansion, the Air Force was the hardest hit of the services by the housing shortage that plagued the nation following World War II. Bases built before the war had better facilities and were capable of meeting the needs of servicemen and their families. Unfortunately, most air bases had been hastily constructed during the war with relatively few creature comforts and virtually no provisions for families.

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The initial postwar plan called for quartering 75 percent of Air Force families in onbase housing, with the remainder either buying or renting offbase. In 1948, some fifty-five thousand personnel, including slightly over twenty-five thousand officers, were entitled to base housing or, in lieu thereof, a monetary allowance to secure offbase accommodations. Against that demand, the Air Force could muster only about twelve thousand housing units, including forty-five hundred for officers. That forced most families to compete for offbase housing already woefully inadequate to meet civilian needs.³⁸

Some families secured suitable offbase housing, but others were not so lucky. The least fortunate fell victim to the law of supply and demand and the willingness of greedy individuals to exploit the situation. Slumlords reaped huge profits by renting structures that were unfit for human habitation. Many servicemen left their families elsewhere rather than expose them to conditions around some of the newer bases.³⁹

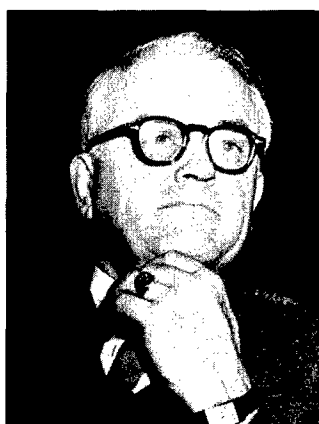
The immediate service response was a self-help program to convert existing onbase structures, mostly vacant barracks, into small apartments. Local efforts included contracting for onbase housing construction through local firms. Low-rent housing that had been constructed adjacent to military bases during World War II (at a cost of four thousand dollars per unit and an expected life of five years) was upgraded, and almost fifteen hundred of these units were still in use in the 1970s. About eight hundred "Shell Houses" (because their interiors remained largely unfinished when the money, seven thousand dollars per unit, ran out) were completed and became homes for a generation of Air Force families.⁴⁰

Long-term relief began in 1949 with an amendment to the National Housing Act sponsored by Senator Kenneth S. Wherry (R-Nebraska) authorizing forty-five thousand housing units, built for ten thousand dollars per unit, on or adjacent to military bases. The Air Force got twenty-five thousand of the units, named Wherry houses in honor of their sponsor. Whether Wherry housing would have been sufficient was rendered moot by the vast military expansion of the early 1950s. As late as 1957, the number of onbase units filled only 30 percent of the need, and at over half the stateside bases the offbase accommodations were either scarce and expensive or nonexistent.⁴¹

The second, and larger, effort began with the passage of the Military Public Works Act of 1956 and the Housing Act of 1956. Under provisions sponsored by Senator Homer E. Capehart (R-Indiana), military housing construction was funded for an additional ninety-seven thousand units, but, at least in the Air Force, it was inadequate. In 1964, a survey found 29 percent of Air Force families, mostly those residing off base, lived in houses that were either substandard, priced too high, or both.⁴²

Exactly when the housing shortage eased is a matter of definition. The worst conditions had faded by the early 1970s as the housing construction provisions of the annual military budget slowly caught up with the demand.

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Senator Kenneth S. Wherry (R-Nebraska) (left),
and Senator Homer E. Capehart (R-Indiana).

However, another, and longer lasting, dimension complicated the problem. In some areas, offbase housing was simply too expensive for some enlisted personnel adequately to house their families. By that criterion, the housing problem remained a fact of life.

Military pay was another area that relied heavily on Congressional temperament. Throughout most of American history, military members had been paid to perform duties that had little applicability to civilian life, but that approach to military compensation was obsolete by 1953. Many, if not most, of the skills possessed by Air Force officers were now directly transferable to civilian life. In a very real sense, that placed the service in the job market and in direct competition with civilian enterprise for skilled manpower.

The defense establishment was slow to grasp this shift in civil-military relations. Military pay for officers in the 1930s had been adequate, indeed, more than adequate in a country crippled by severe economic depression; but subsequent pay legislation did not keep pace with national trends. Between 1939 and 1955, the cost-of-living index climbed some 200 percent and industrial wages rose 315 percent. Military compensation, on the other hand, increased only 110 percent for enlisted personnel and a scant 59 percent for officers during the same period. Between 1949 and 1954, the average salaries of scientific personnel with baccalaureate degrees increased 25 percent, managers in industry received raises totaling 33 percent, and the cost of living rose about 13 percent, however, military pay rose less than 6 percent during those years. Unlike civilian salaries, military pay was not subject to frequent review and increased only twice in the decade ending in 1958. Neither increase significantly narrowed the gap between military and civilian compensation, and therein lay the heart of the problem.⁴³

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Most officers seemed to have applied a standard commonly referred to as *comparability* in judging their financial situation. They judged the adequacy of military pay by the gap between it and civilian pay. The easy transferability of so many military skills to the civilian realm made such comparisons easy, and inevitable. Military engineers kept an eye on what civilian engineers were being paid, military physicists watched their civilian counterparts, and so on. When the gap between military and civilian pay was excessive, as it was throughout the period, it had a negative influence sufficient to deter many young officers, whose career decisions were wavering, from staying in the service.⁴⁴

Attitudes toward military compensation began to change in 1956, just as the retention problem came into focus. In May, the Dependent Medical Care Act of 1956 expanded the medical benefits available to the dependents of active duty military personnel. In July, the Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivor Benefits Act of 1956 increased the benefits paid the survivors of military personnel whose deaths were service related. More important, the act placed all active duty military members under the Social Security System, providing them with a substantial supplement to the retirement benefits available to them from the military services.⁴⁵

The Cordiner Committee, with its charter to examine the full range of military compensation, also first met in 1956. The committee's major recommendation was for better pay, and that led to the pay raise of 1958, the largest since World War II. After that, however, the traditional view of military pay reasserted itself and the military received no further raises until 1963. A Cordiner Committee recommendation that career Reserve officers be paid a bonus, as much as one thousand dollars per annum, to offset their less secure status died quickly and quietly. Likewise, Air Force requests for special pay for officers in positions of responsibility, fliers standing alert, and those assigned to remote or isolated duty never went before Congress, although the requests remained on the proposed legislative agenda for years.⁴⁶

Further change in military pay policy did not occur until 1961 with the beginning of the Kennedy administration and the appointment of Robert McNamara as Secretary of Defense. By that time, the Air Force, and the military in general, had been grappling with the retention problem for five years. Also by that time, the failure of the draft, essentially a wartime expedient, to meet peacetime manpower needs was abundantly clear. Conscription could induce young men to volunteer for the service of their choice or even seek commissions, but it could not keep them past their obligations. The draft was also being questioned on traditional grounds. Critics charged that the peacetime use of selective service distorted American values. Historically, the peacetime military had been manned with volunteers, and the critics believed that every effort should be made to return to that concept.⁴⁷

By 1962, the Kennedy administration was actively searching for ways to satisfy military manpower needs with little, if any, reliance on the draft. The

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immediate effect of the effort was a handsome pay raise in 1963 and the promise that, henceforth, military compensation would be subjected to annual review. Otherwise, progress toward narrowing the civil-military pay gap was slowed by fear that a voluntary military would be too expensive and by opposition from some within the Selective Service System who supported the draft as the best way to get the necessary manpower. Still, efforts to end conscription, largely through better pay and relaxed entry standards, continued into the Johnson administration, with the intent of creating an all-volunteer military a part of that administration's Great Society Program.⁴⁸

That hope ended in 1965 when the Johnson administration introduced ground troops into Vietnam and the American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia began expanding rapidly. Deciding against mobilizing the Reserves, the administration had to rely on the draft to meet the drastically increased manpower needs. Thus the irony: while the Vietnam War ultimately made the draft politically unacceptable, it also gave conscription a few more years of life than it might otherwise have had.

After the major American involvement in Vietnam began, efforts to narrow the gap between civilian and military pay once again stalled. In 1967, the salary of officers was estimated to be, on the average, 16 percent less than what they could make as civilians. In some areas, particularly engineering, the difference was as great as 28 percent. Factoring in the military's "fringe benefits"—such items as free medical services and subsidized shopping—narrowed the gap, but not significantly. Military compensation was officially tied to civil service pay scales that year, breaking with a past that had treated military pay in isolation. However, not until 1971, in anticipation of the end of the draft, would military salaries be tied to the pay scales of civilian business and a serious attempt be made to keep military compensation acceptably close, although not equal, to the civilian sector.⁴⁹

Within the Air Force, the program to improve retention officially began in April 1956. Named Project Green Light, it reflected the decentralized nature of career management at the time. The Air Staff provided the guidance for the program, which was mostly informational, but the major commands directed its implementation. Unit commanders were ordered to counsel young officers on the benefits of a military career annually, although, in actuality, fewer than half ever received a single counseling. Pamphlets and brochures containing career information were distributed, then revised and redistributed a number of times. Appeals to patriotism were tried, as were attempts to remove some of the minor irritants that negatively influenced career decisions. The surveys to determine why young officers left active duty were positive results of the effort. Otherwise, Project Green Light failed, probably because it had neither the vigor nor the focus to truly address the problem.⁵⁰

The next effort, announced by Lt. Gen. Truman H. Landon, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, in May 1961, was much more ambitious. Dubbed Project

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Lt. Gen. Truman H. Landon,
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel,
1959-1961.

Top Star, it attacked the retention problem with a much wider program. Much of the effort focused on assignment policies, consistently the most negative feature of Air Force life cited by young officers. Henceforth, more effort would be made to classify officers properly and to ensure that each was profitably employed. Classification and audit teams from the Air Staff and the major commands would visit bases to interview officers who believed they had been assigned improperly. If the teams found incorrect assignments, they could either make corrections on the spot, if possible, or document the problems for action by another office.⁵¹

The most important innovation of Project Top Star was to terminate the authority of the major commands to manage the careers of their officers. In 1955, that authority had been decentralized to the major commands to end years of disagreement and get the officer career management program off the ground. At the same time, the Air Staff accepted the role of making broad policy decisions and issuing guidance, but the weaknesses of such a division of power and responsibility soon became apparent. The major commands administered the program differently, creating serious difficulties for large numbers of officers. Those transferring to another major command sometimes found policies to be much different than in their former command. The results were poor continuity, the negation of previous planning, and the belief that "officer career management" was less a reality than a play on words. In 1960, officers unaware of the existence of career management outnumbered those who thought it was working well.⁵²

Effective and efficient personnel management had been the subject of several studies spanning the entire time the Air Force had been an independent military service. A study completed in September 1962 recommended that the Directorate of Military Personnel be separated from the planning, programming, and budgeting functions and physically relocated to Randolph Air Force Base, Texas. Once there, the directorate would form the Air Force Military Personnel

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Center, popularly known as AFMPC or merely as MPC, and function as an arm of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel. MPC would be the agency where policy would be applied to people. The recommendation won quick approval, and the actual establishment of the center began in March 1963, with a planned completion date of July 1965.

Centralized career management officially began in July 1963 when MPC became operational and began performing the functions formerly decentralized to the major commands. With a staff of 1,250 and the latest in data-handling computers, MPC's responsibilities spanned the gamut of personnel management—keeping records, establishing manpower objectives, convening promotion boards, making officer and enlisted assignments, selecting students for professional military schools, and handling separations and retirements.⁵³

Project Top Star established periodic Officer Career Motivation Congresses to study ideas and make recommendations on how to make a military career more attractive. The first such congress, composed of representatives from the major commands and hosted by the Air Force Systems Command, met in January 1962. From that meeting came fifty-five recommendations, of which the Air Staff approved forty-seven. Some of the recommendations were mere homilies, such as a call for continued support for better pay. Others, such as not sending second lieutenants to a remote or isolated location on their first assignment to present a more positive initial impression of military life, were more substantial. Both of those recommendations won approval.⁵⁴

Project Top Star also examined the policies governing the Regular officer force, which was the brightest area in the otherwise gloomy retention picture. Less than 1 percent of the Regular officers polled in 1956 indicated they planned to leave the service. In 1965, the only year from which data survived, only 916 Regular officers, less than 2 percent of the total, resigned their commissions. All the other many thousands leaving active duty each year held Reserve commissions.⁵⁵

Many officers leaving active duty still held Reserve commissions because they had not pursued a Regular billet. Their lack of interest in a Regular commission reflected a similar indifference toward a military career. Conversely, career-minded Reservists who did not win a Regular commission faced a difficult decision: separate or continue on active duty despite some very real handicaps. Reservists correctly perceived that, although constituting the majority of the officers, they did not share equally in the benefits of military service. During the force reductions of 1949–1950, 1954, and 1957–1960, only Reservists were penalized. The chances of a Reserve officer being selected for advanced professional military education, one of the keys to promotion, were poor. By 1964, over eleven thousand Air Force officers had attended Air Command and Staff College, the service's intermediate professional school, but only about twenty-two hundred held Reserve commissions. Attendance at the Air War College (AWC), the service's senior professional school, was even

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more restrictive. Of the 444 who attended the AWC in academic years 1965/66 and 1966/67, only four were Reservists serving on active duty.⁵⁶

Promotions were less one-sided, but still heavily favored Regular officers in the field grade ranks. The generous selection percentages of the permanent promotion system virtually guaranteed a Regular officer the rank of lieutenant colonel and a military career, regardless of how the officer fared in the temporary system. Conversely, Reservists were buffeted by a volatile temporary promotion system that in some years struggled to promote half those eligible to the rank of major.

Worse, most *temporary* field grade promotions went to *Regular* officers. In 1966, Regular officers had a selection rate to temporary major of 84 percent, while Reserve officers had a selection rate of only 59 percent to the same grade. Also in that year, Regular officers enjoyed a 24-percent edge (74 percent against 50 percent) in promotions to temporary lieutenant colonel, and virtually all officers promoted to temporary colonel held Regular commissions. As a result of the imbalance in advancement opportunities, only 15 percent of the active duty lieutenant colonels and 2 percent of active duty colonels were Reserve officers.⁵⁷

The great difference in promotion opportunities between the two types of commissions explains the seemingly contradictory perceptions in table 13 that the Air Force is both secure and insecure. Regular officers were the secure ones; secure in tenure, promotions, and career opportunities. On the other hand, Reservists could only count their debits, assess their positions as insecure, and state this feeling in the surveys of the time.

The service countered by tendering as many new Regular commissions as prudence and the law would allow. Most, perhaps 70 percent, went to active duty Reservists, the remainder to service academy graduates and the distinguished graduates of the other commissioning programs. In March 1961, as the Regular officer force neared 55,000, President Kennedy lifted the interim ceiling on Regular billets imposed in 1956. That raised the ceiling to the statutory limit of 69,425, allowing the annual augmentation of new Regular officers to continue without interruption. Between 1958 and 1965, over 47,000 Regular commissions were awarded, raising the Regular force to almost 65,000 despite the massive numbers retiring during the same period. The resulting 1965 profile, by years of service in 1965, is depicted in figure 7. There was a deficit of Regular officers in the younger year groups, but, except for a few minor peaks and valleys, the distribution was in reasonable proximity to the optimum line after the tenth year of service.⁵⁸

In 1963, Project Top Star ended the practice of tendering Regular commissions up to the thirteenth year of service in favor of concentrating on younger officers, those in their second to seventh year. That would, in time, erase the deficit in the younger year groups, a deficit previously maintained as a hedge against a presidential refusal to lift the interim ceiling on Regular billets.

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The change had the additional benefit of allowing officers whose career decision hinged on receiving a Regular commission to make their choice earlier.⁵⁹

The other major change in Regular officer augmentation took place in 1961. By that time, the buildup of the Regular force had entered its fourth year and a curious anomaly had emerged. For obscure reasons, many Reserve officers with five to eight years of service and apparently inclined toward a military career had never applied for a Regular billet. On a trial basis, 198 of the best-qualified

Table 13

Positive and Negative Aspects of Military Life as Mentioned by Young Officers

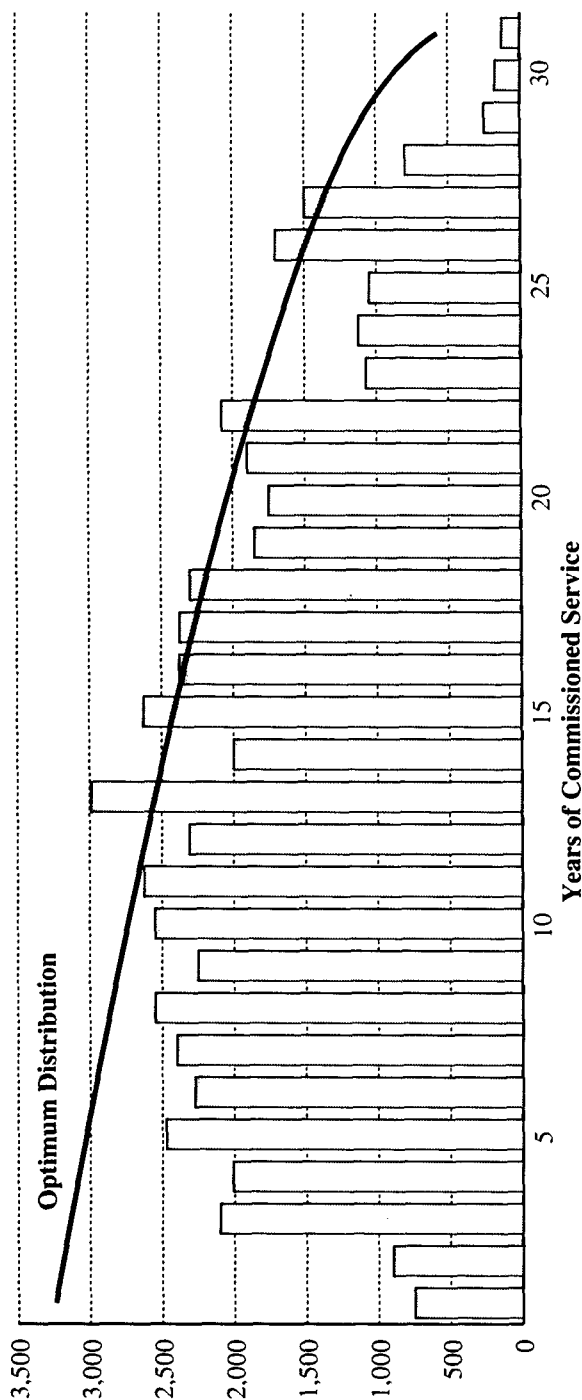
1956–1966

(in *approximate* order of frequency cited)

Positive	Negative
1. Retirement/other benefits	Assignment procedures
2. Good pay	Family considerations
3. Flying/aviation	Promotion policies
4. Training/education	Low pay
5. Military life in general	Too few opportunities
6. Travel/adventure	Poor housing
7. Job satisfaction	Insecurity
8. Security	Poor leadership
9. High prestige of service	Job dissatisfaction
10. Patriotism	Low prestige of service

Sources: Lawrence Elston Green, "Careers in the USAF: Plans and Perceptions (A Study of Occupational Values and Images)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1968), p. 93; *Air Force Statistical Digest, FY 1957*, table 183, p. 381; *Air Force Statistical Digest, FY 1958*, table 210, p. 419; "Analysis of the Career Plans and Attitudes of USAF non-Career Reserve Officers as Derived From 100% Survey," Jul. 31, 1956, AULM-39849-NC, pp. 2, 4, 4A, 6, and 6A; Operation Green Light Analysis of Officer Loss Statistics, Oct. 17, 1955, table 10, p. 11, ACC 63A-1531, box 3, 15-5.1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Jimmy D. Carver, "An Analysis of Officer Retention Factors Within a Tactical Airlift Wing (C-130E)" (master's thesis, AFIT, 1972), p. 74; Francis D. Harding and Kenneth K. L. Wong, "Attitudes and Career Intentions of Officer Training School Graduates," technical report PRL-TR-64-26 (Lackland AFB: Personnel Research Laboratory, Oct. 1964), table 1, p. 3; Dominic P. Mainieri, "The Air Force Officer Retention Problem" (master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1961), p. 18. For additional data not used in this table, see "Attitude Survey of non-Regular Officers Toward Signing the Voluntary-Indefinite Service Statement and Other Related Factors," prepared by the Personnel Research Section of the Directorate of Personnel and Training, AMC, Dec. 1951, DCS/P 210.8, Separations Jan. 1–Jun. 30, 1952, folder, RG 341, MMB, NA and "Attitudes and Judgments of Some Letters related to Present Active Duty Intentions," technical report number 14 (Lackland AFB: Human Resources Research Institute, May 1963), AULM-37740-1-NC.

Figure 7
Years of Service—Regular Line Officers
 1965



Sources: graph, subj: Line Officer Distribution by PLSD/TAFSCD (Regular Officers), undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC. The optimum distribution line was adapted from graph, subj: USAF Regular Officers—Optimum vs Inventory, Jun 30, 1957, ACC 62A-1391, box 2, Regular Officer Force Augmentation—1958 (gen) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

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of that group were offered a Regular commission. Officials were delighted when 158 accepted.⁶⁰

That procedure was next tried on Reservists serving their obligated tours. With the help of the major commands, the records of over 3,000 young officers who had not applied for a Regular commission were screened and 1,031 with college degrees and vital skills were interviewed. Most had no interest in a Regular commission, but 467 had either not yet made a decision or had no compelling reason why they had not made application. All 467 were offered a Regular commission and, again, officials were pleased when 250 accepted.⁶¹

The lesson gained was that the service must change the way it awarded Regular commissions. Rather than limit the selection to those who formally applied, all officers must be screened and the best qualified offered a Regular billet. Since the retention of college graduates enjoyed high priority in the campaign to achieve a college-educated officer corps, they were given the bulk of the commissions. By 1963, over 93 percent of those augmented had college degrees, whereas three years earlier, only 25 percent of eligible college graduates had even bothered to apply. Of all the policy changes made to improve retention among college graduates, this undoubtedly had the most success.⁶²

Unfortunately, the overall effort enjoyed less success. By 1965, retention was better despite the changes made in the late 1950s that greatly reduced the commissioning of nongraduates, the group most interested in a military career. Overall retention, however, stayed a frustrating 6 percentage points below the objective of 55 percent, and rated officer retention was double that of nonrated officers. A small part of the problem stemmed from the poor administration of policy at the working level. Distracted by other duties, supervisors did not give retention the priority they should have. For example, despite the continuing requirement that young officers be counseled annually, the number actually counseled stubbornly refused to climb above the 50-percent mark. Of those counseled, half believed their counselors were either incompetent or indifferent to their task.⁶³

Probing deeper, officials increasingly came to believe that conditions in the work place strongly influenced the career decisions of many young officers. To find out why, the Directorate of Studies and Analysis undertook a major study in early 1966. The completed study, known as Project New View, involved extensive interviews with 428 young officers serving their obligated tour. Each had a college degree and each showed great potential for growth, exactly the officers that the Air Force wanted to retain. The completed New View study, in two volumes, appeared in November 1966. The study must have come as a revelation to the senior leadership of the Air Force, men whose concepts of interpersonal relations and discipline had been incubated in the strong institutional values of the Air Corps, honed by economic depression in the 1930s, and fired in the crucible of World War II. Project New View introduced them to the quite different values of a new generation.

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Most young officers, the beneficiaries of more education and twenty years of economic prosperity, looked past financial and material rewards to satisfaction in job and career—a sense of achievement in interesting and challenging work. They wanted the responsibility necessary to do their work and ample recognition for a job well done. Recognition meant everything from promotions to an occasional “pat on the back” from superiors. They also wanted growth and advancement, not just in promotions, but in ever-increasing positions of responsibility. Unlike many senior officers, they believed that seniority should play little role in promotions and assignments. Only ability should count.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, the young officers found much that frustrated their expectations. Over one-third believed that office policies where they worked were inconsistent, denied them the authority they needed in their work, and intruded into their personal lives. Fifteen percent believed their supervisors to be incompetent, lacking in integrity, or indifferent about their duties. Another 17 percent felt their jobs neither challenged them nor left them with much hope for advancement. These young officers, and others like them, were the ones who cited job dissatisfaction as being a negative factor in Air Force life.⁶⁵

Obviously, some of the aspirations of young officers could not be met by any organization, military or civilian, while other aspirations would soften in the face of maturity and the harder realities of a competitive world. Still, their complaints had substance. For example, dissatisfaction with supervisors could partially be blamed on better educated young officers. The other implication of Project New View was a generational difference in attitudes toward interpersonal relationships, work, and, perhaps, toward military service itself.

The distinctions shown in Project New View were between the values and norms of an institution and those of an occupation. The values of young officers—satisfying work, independence, rewards for a job well done, recognition of ability as well as seniority, and the desire to have a voice in establishing office working conditions—were normally associated with an occupation. These values clashed with the institutional values of older officers who valued and respected seniority and rank, demanded commitment to the chain of command, and drew strength and reward from just being in the military. In other words, the young officers were at ease with the more fluid values of the marketplace, while older officers felt more comfortable within the structured, less flexible, confines of the military establishment.⁶⁶

In particular, the young officers questioned demands that showed only distrust, with scant, if any, relationship to mission accomplishment. Did the military really trust officers when it made them show multiple forms of identification, sometimes to low-ranking enlisted men, during monetary transactions or, as at some installations, produce marriage licenses as proof of wedlock before allowing them to move out of bachelor's quarters or *finger printed* them before cashing travelers checks? How did requiring officers to join the officers' club or wear a uniform with blouse when entertaining in their own homes

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improve unit efficiency or get the job done better? Older officers stoically accepted such demands as a part of military life or humorously attributed them to efforts to ensure that nobody ever made a mistake. Younger officers saw only unwarranted and pointless intrusions into their personal lives.⁶⁷

Important as they were, the problems raised by Project New View did not evoke an immediate response from the Air Force, either to improve retention or seek ways to accommodate the conflicting views between the two generations. That response did not take place until the 1970s, after a period marked by an unpopular war, social unrest, and the retirement of an older generation. As of the mid-1960s, the service could only look back on a decade-long effort that had measurably improved retention, even if not to the desired levels, and had successfully used Regular commissions to hold onto college-educated officers. The latter was important not only to retention but also to the struggle to achieve an college-educated officer corps, a struggle that had continued for almost two decades without a great deal of success.

The Continuing Deficiency in Academic Education

The Air Force gained independence with an officer corps in which only a minority had college degrees. A college education had little effect on one's ability as a pilot, which was based on gross motor skill development and hand-eye coordination, but it did make better officers. A modern Air Force required leaders who were familiar with such diverse subjects as international relations, business administration, personnel relations, and technology, all of which were academically based. Thus it was in the context of officership and not piloting that the academic deficiency was most deeply felt.

The deficiency in academic education resulted from the relaxed procurement standards necessary to meet the enormous manpower needs of World War II and the attraction of the Air Force to action oriented rather than academically oriented young men. The plans laid down in the late 1940s to improve officer education were soon swamped by the wave of new and recalled officers entering service during the Korean War. Although most of the newer officers likewise did not possess a degree, they were better educated than their predecessors. By 1954, some 38 percent of the line officers (excluding medical, legal, and chaplain personnel) had degrees, up about 10 percent since 1949. Hidden in those figures, however, were some 28,600 (of about 125,000) who had only high school degrees and another 1,250 who had even less.⁶⁸

After 1954, improvement in officer academic education, in terms of college degrees, slowed to a snail's pace; at the end of the decade, only about 45 percent had degrees. The reasons for the stagnation were twofold: first, the reliance, until about 1955, for the majority of new officers on Aviation Cadet and OCS graduates, who mostly did not have a college diploma, and second, the

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tendency of those without degrees to stay in the service and those with degrees to leave. This pattern perpetuated the influence of the Aviation Cadet and OCS programs on officer education despite the decline of both programs after the mid-1950s. In 1964, as both programs neared their end, 52 percent of all active duty officers were either Aviation Cadet or OCS graduates. Conversely, only 35 percent came from procurement programs requiring a college degree. Only in 1966, after the retirement of many officers commissioned in World War II, did the majority of officers come from the degree-requiring programs.⁶⁹

In 1961, in a letter to Lt. Gen. Edward J. Timberlake, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, Lt. Gen. Troup Miller, Air University Commander, informally outlined what still needed to be done: terminate nondegree programs, provide the means for officers to improve their academic educations, and make it worth their while to do so.⁷⁰ In his first point, General Miller called for a continuation of the trend, which began in 1954, away from the Aviation Cadet and OCS programs toward the AFROTC and, later, Officer Training School. Termination of these programs hinged on OTS successfully providing college-educated officers and doing so in response to shifting manpower requirements. Although validation of OTS as a commissioning program was well advanced by 1961, ending the nondegree programs was still a few years away.

Implementation of General Miller's other recommendations—providing educational opportunities and encouraging officers to take advantage of them—faced formidable obstacles. The very magnitude of the problem (perhaps sixty-five thousand officers did not have a degree in 1955) afforded little room for optimism. In 1956, for the first time since 1950, the USAF Educational Conference, chaired by Gen. Edwin W. Rawlings, met to study and make recommendations on the full spectrum of the service's educational needs. The conference supported an officer force of college-educated officers and recommended that planning proceed in that direction. However, the numbers involved and the lack of interest shown by many officers left conference members pessimistic about achieving that goal, even among Regular officers, in the foreseeable future. Otherwise, the conference recommended that the practice of sending officers to college in pursuit of undergraduate degrees be raised above the existing quota of six hundred annually.⁷¹

Educational matters got an unexpected boost in October 1957 when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the first artificial earth satellite. The launch jarred the defense establishment and raised questions about the nation's strategic deterrence and level of technical expertise. The Air Force Scientific Advisory Board seized the opportunity to form the Ad Hoc Committee on Research and Development (1958) to assess the ability of the service to meet this challenge. The new committee found much to criticize. Expenditures on electronic equipment and missiles had almost doubled in five years, but the number of technically qualified officers had remained essentially unchanged. Forecasting that the rated officer would become less important in the coming

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Gen. Edwin W. Rawlings,
chairman of the 1956 USAF
Educational Conference.



missile age, the committee recommended the procurement and training of more scientific and technical officers, even at the expense of the rated force. The recommendation dovetailed nicely with similar conclusions by other agencies as well as with forecasts that the need for scientific and technological expertise would skyrocket in the 1960s.⁷²

Soviet space successes and increased public concern combined to make the 1960s the decade of education for the Air Force. By 1963, nine different programs helped service personnel improve academically. All were supported by considerable publicity and an increased willingness, whenever possible, to provide individuals with the time for academic pursuits. Some programs were new while others dated from before the Korean War, but whatever the program and whatever its contribution, academic education was aggressively pursued.

The premier Air Force education program was managed by the Air Force Institute of Technology (AFIT). Founded in 1949 with about eight hundred students, AFIT provided officers with both baccalaureate and advanced degrees, mostly in scientific, technological, and engineering disciplines. By 1963, as many as twenty-eight hundred officers studied either at AFIT facilities at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, or at civilian institutions. Although plans called for a future student body of forty-five hundred, AFIT enrollment had crested. Annoyed at the cost and the number of officers away from duty, the Defense Department slashed the FY 1964 AFIT quota to fifteen hundred, mostly by virtually eliminating the undergraduate part of the program. The reduction was based on the Air Force procuring officers who were college graduates in numbers sufficient to meet requirements without AFIT's contribution. Later decisions placed the FY 1965 and FY 1966 enrollment at about sixteen hundred, just before the manpower demands of the Vietnam War imposed further limits. By 1966, the AFIT program, in sixteen years, had enabled perhaps eight thousand officers to earn baccalaureate degrees and a somewhat larger number to gain advanced degrees.⁷³

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Of lesser significance were the academic education programs offered by the Air University and the Strategic Air Command. In 1961, the Air University (AU), in conjunction with George Washington University (GWU), began offering offduty degree programs to students attending the Air War College. A year later, those attending the Air Command and Staff College became eligible, and by the summer of 1966, 1,156 officers had earned degrees. Unfortunately, virtually all the degrees were master's, rather than baccalaureates, which did nothing to eradicate the basic educational deficiency of the officer force. Also, the need to award some academic credit for work done in the military schools and the curricula of those schools limited the AU/GWU degrees to International Relations and Public Administration, areas in little demand by the service. That left the program open to charges of being a "diploma factory" that did not meet actual needs. Others wondered, accurately, how students in supposedly demanding professional military schools found the time for academic pursuits. It took a decision by the Chief of Staff, Gen. John P. McConnell, to keep the programs, but his support was based on prestige accrued by the military schools rather than on benefit to the service.⁷⁴

In 1962, the Strategic Air Command, in conjunction with AU and AFIT, established the Minuteman Education Program to provide advanced degrees in engineering to Launch Control Officers who would begin standing alert in Minuteman missile silos later that year. Success hinged on alert duty being of the "fireman" type with little else to do except study and on finding enough officers with the undergraduate prerequisites to qualify for the program. The program had the potential of bestowing about 350 degrees annually in a discipline much valued by the service. If that was the intent, the Minuteman program did not live up to its promise. Crippled by problems with a missile system that required a surprising amount of close attention and the lack of officers with the undergraduate prerequisites, only 15 graduated in the first group to complete the program in 1965. In 1971, with the program in place at six bases, only 139 graduated, about a third of the forecast potential.⁷⁵

Numerically, the largest group involved in educational improvement were the personnel that, while not part of any Air Force program, took courses during offduty hours. By 1960, over 107,000 personnel, both officer and enlisted, attended college classes either at onbase facilities or at nearby institutions, and another 2,700 took college-level correspondence courses through the Air Force Institute of Technology. In 1961, offduty education got a boost when Operation Bootstrap, which granted full-time student status to those nearing completion of their degree, was expanded from one semester to one year. Another boost came the next year with the initiation of the Education Services Program, which allowed the service to pay 75 percent of the tuition of those participating in offduty education.⁷⁶

Offduty education peaked in 1963, when over 194,000 were enrolled in college-level work. The number of officers in the total was unspecified, but

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whatever the total, relatively few actually completed a degree program, because of the great difference in taking a course, or courses, and having the opportunity or the drive to finish a degree program. Small wonder that the temporary majors promotion board in 1962 found that very few officers had earned degrees via offduty study. Most who had a degree either had it when they came on active duty or earned it in resident status, probably through the AFIT program.⁷⁷

The net result of the push in academic education in the 1960s probably did not amount to much in terms of achieving a college-educated officer corps. In fact, most productive effort went into advanced, rather than baccalaureate, degrees. The percentage of officers with at least a baccalaureate did increase 20 percentage points (to about 65 percent) in the first six years of the decade, but that was largely unrelated to the active duty education effort. Ending programs that commissioned nongraduates reduced the number without college degrees, but so did the retirement of officers arriving at the opposite end of the career spectrum with twenty years of service.⁷⁸

Less than 40 percent of the retiring officers, mostly rated officers commissioned during the war, had college degrees. They had shown little interest in academic pursuits and had suffered penalties for their lack of education, mainly poorer promotion opportunities, but they had successfully fashioned a career based on their flying skills. In the decade beginning in 1962, about fifty-five thousand World War II officers retired and another forty thousand younger officers completed their obligated service and left active duty. Included in this exodus were over forty thousand who did not have a college degree. By 1974, these retirements alone resulted in 85 percent of the officer corps having a college education, even without any active duty education programs. Thus, the considerable improvement in officer education was due more to changes in procurement policies and the retirement of the World War II hump than from the educational efforts directed at the active duty force.⁷⁹

Managing Mass Retirement

The retirement of the World War II hump was a complete break with the past, both in numbers and in policy. Far fewer officers retired in all of 1955 (about 350) than in March 1963 (516), and the greatest year for retirements was not until 1968. In 1959, only about 20,000 officers appeared on the retired rolls, whereas a decade later the figure had more than doubled. Only 2,500 officers had over twenty years of service in 1956, but over 35,000 officers achieved that length of service by 1965, including almost half of the rated force. In terms of age, perhaps a third of all active duty officers were at least forty years old by 1963, quite a contrast to 1946 when the average age was only twenty-four.⁸⁰

In the post-World War II era, military retirement served three purposes: it eliminated mentally or physically impaired officers, prevented promotion stag-

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nation by removing the more senior officers, and attracted young men to a military career. Before World War II, and before Reserve officers figured prominently in the peacetime active duty establishment, the service almost always required Regular officers to serve until mandatory retirement, usually thirty years of service. Ending a military career after only twenty years and as early as age forty was alien to the logic of the times. Voluntary retirement after twenty years, but short of mandatory years of service, required the service secretary's certification that continued active duty constituted "grave personal hardships" or that retirement was for the "good of the service." That policy held through the Korean War, until, in 1953, Congress granted voluntary retirement privileges to Regular officers who had served in *both* World Wars. Otherwise, applications for voluntary retirement were usually denied.⁸¹

By 1956, the negative aspects of denying voluntary retirement had become increasingly apparent as more and more officers expressed an interest in retiring before their mandatory dates. Some wished to pursue other interests, while others had lost their zest for military life and wanted a change. Most merely wished to launch into another career while as young as possible. Some officers were allowed to retire voluntarily when, having lost interest in further military service, they let their performance decline to unacceptable levels. Other officers whose performance remained good, but who also wished to retire, were denied that privilege. That drew criticism as being against the best interests of the service since it rewarded poor performers and penalized good ones.

Restrictions and penalties of voluntary retirement began to appear as a factor in officer retention. This time, promotions were the problem. Promotions were important, even critical, to an officer's career, but sometimes the additional obligation for a promotion seemed to outweigh its benefit. For example, was a promotion to permanent lieutenant colonel worth the additional six years of service (to twenty-eight years) needed to reach mandatory retirement? Many officers did not think so and cited the lack of a more liberal retirement policy as their reason for leaving the service.⁸²

Most of the pressure for change was generated by the impending arrival of the World War II hump at twenty years of service. Requiring all Regular officers to serve until mandatory retirement would have further stagnated a promotion system struggling with a badly distorted rank structure. Conversely, forcing all Reservists to retire at twenty years of service, as some suggested, while requiring Regular officers to serve until mandatory retirement, raised the issue of fairness and made a Regular billet less attractive to those who favored a more liberal attitude toward voluntary retirement.

In October 1956, David Smith, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Manpower and Personnel, announced a major policy change that provided some of the needed flexibility. Whereas past requests for voluntary retirement by Regular officers had usually been denied, future requests would be approved if the requestors had spent at least ten of their twenty years of service in

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commissioned status and if approval would not have a materially adverse effect on mission accomplishment. Although the policy addressed only Regular officers, it ultimately formed the basis for the voluntary retirement of all officers.⁸³

As it turned out, liberalized retirement proved more of a safety valve than a management tool as the hump of World War II officers approached twenty years of service. A survey of over twelve thousand officers in 1957 suggested that only about 10 percent of eligibles would retire in any given year. Factoring in those involuntarily and medically retired still meant that less than half the hump officers who needed to retire each year to keep the structure from becoming excessively top heavy would do so. About nineteen thousand officers with over twenty years service was considered optimum, but by 1969 the actual figure was slated to increase to about thirty-six thousand, including both Regular and Reserve, given the prevailing and projected retirement rates. Developing the management programs for retiring large numbers of officers and keeping the structure in balance suddenly received high priority.⁸⁴

Retiring Reserve officers was, like most other active duty Reserve matters, entirely at the discretion of the service secretary since Reserve officers did not have the legal protection enjoyed by their Regular counterparts. As late as 1956, plans to free field grade billets for the permanent promotion of Regular officers called for only about twenty-five hundred Reservists serving beyond the twenty-year point. For once, however, Reserve officers got a break. Beginning in 1959, Congress began to pass relief legislation that, while inadequate, did create additional field grade billets. It also became increasingly apparent that the Regular force could not alone fill all those billets. In 1961, only seventy-four hundred Regular officers would have over twenty years service, and not until 1968 could the Regular force fill all nineteen thousand billets of the optimum structure. Large numbers of Reserve officers were needed to serve beyond twenty years, and Project 20-10 provided them.⁸⁵

With the exception of those who wished to retire, Project 20-10 screened all Reserve officers with twenty years service, at least ten of which were commissioned, for three additional years of service. After three years, they would again be screened, presumably for additional tenure, although the early termination of the program left that unclear. Project 20-10 boards, which first met in March 1960 and semiannually thereafter, made their selections using the same criteria as promotion boards with one exception: those with critically needed skills were given extra consideration. Mostly, these skills were in research and development or communications-electronics, although others, such as maintenance and supply, occasionally made the list.⁸⁶

Over the next three years, Project 20-10 boards screened perhaps twenty-six thousand Reserve officers from first lieutenant to colonel, with majors the most prevalent. The instructions given the boards were vague, but apparently authorized the selection of 40 to 50 percent for retention using a best-qualified

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standard. The individual boards varied considerably, but, overall, selected about half for continued service. Unfortunately, the high promotion rate and other personnel problems of the time, principally inadequate grade relief, combined to bring down Project 20-10. By August 1963, the realities demanded stricter control of Reserve officers serving beyond twenty years, and Project 20-10 was canceled.⁸⁷

In its place came the Active Service for Career Reserve Officers (ASCRO) program. Like its predecessor, ASCRO boards screened Reserve officers for service beyond twenty years, but it was much more restrictive. The boards selected only 20 percent of those eligible for contracts of two, rather than three, years. After two years, an additional screening selected 5 percent of the eligible colonels and lieutenant colonels for continuation until mandatory retirement dates equal to those enjoyed by Regular officers. This program lasted until 1966, when the Vietnam War forced further changes.⁸⁸

The problem facing the Regular force was qualitative rather than quantitative. At issue were a number of Regular officers, mostly those promoted to permanent colonel and lieutenant colonel during the "one-shot" promotion cycle in 1948. Such officers had been promoted early in their careers to relatively high rank and remained there protected by a sort of protracted "sanctuary zone." The protection came from the OPA of 1947, which prohibited the use of permanent promotion failures to colonel and higher as a reason for forced attrition. Thus a captain with ten years of service "one-shot" promoted to lieutenant colonel could, if he wished, serve an additional eighteen years until mandatory retirement with little fear of elimination.

Most of the "one-shot" officers performed satisfactorily and justified their promotions, but some did not. With nothing to fear from the promotion system, those without adequate personal drive let their performance decline as the years passed. If the decline was to the point of "moral or professional dereliction," they could be dismissed under the "show cause" provisions of AFR 36-2 or, if they held a higher temporary rank, demoted. However, most maintained a level of performance sufficient to avoid such harsh penalties. Still other officers with one shot promotions worked hard, but failed to live up to their youthful promise. Whatever the reason, these officers formed a group commonly referred to as "marginally effective."

In August 1957, Maj. Gen. Joseph J. Nazzaro, Director of Personnel Planning, suggested that the Air Force join forces with the Army and Navy, which were also experiencing the problem. He recommended that the Department of Defense approach Congress with a request that all three military services be allowed to involuntarily retire certain Regular officers in the permanent grades of colonel and lieutenant colonel. The request should emphasize the need to remove such officers in the interest of freeing field grade billets and eliminating those officers whose drive and performance suggested limited potential for further advancement.⁸⁹

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Both the Defense Department and Congress agreed, and on July 12, 1960, Public Law 616, 86th Congress (PL 86-616) was enacted. PL 86-616 authorized the Secretary of the Air Force selectively to retire permanent colonels and lieutenant colonels who had completed *twenty* years of service and had failed permanent promotion to the next higher grade at least *three* times. The authority terminated on June 30, 1965, marking it as a temporary expedient enacted only to deal with the hump of officers destined to reach twenty years of service in the first half of the 1960s. In the Air Force, the program became known as Project White Charger or, more often, as Project 20-3. The other services received powers similar in spirit, if not in wording.⁹⁰

The first Project 20-3 board met in November 1960 to consider the records of 1,394 Regular officers. Unique among the five boards that would meet, the number that could be retired was left to the discretion of the service secretary. Subsequent boards could retire no more than 20 percent of those considered. The first board selected 486 (35 percent) for retirement, a shockingly high percentage given the preferential treatment usually accorded Regular officers. The next two boards, meeting November 1961 and December 1962, used nearly all the allowable 20 percent by retiring, respectively, 138 of 754 (18 percent) and 132 of 833 (16 percent).⁹¹

Accustomed to job security and furious at the rough treatment handed out by the Project 20-3 boards, the affected officers fought back. Letters and phone calls to every level of command and to the media charged the service with breach of contract. Some demanded a Congressional investigation into what they called a "sordid mess," forgetting that Congress was a full partner in the whole Project 20-3 affair. By 1964, eleven officers had brought suits against the Air Force, asking that their retirements be voided due to denial of due process of law. The retirements mandated by Project 20-3 were ultimately upheld, although some of the cases remained in litigation until 1968.⁹²

Neither the protesters nor the plaintiffs in the litigation got what they wanted, but they had touched a sensitive nerve. There was a troubling inconsistency in promoting officers to a fairly senior grade before they had a chance to mature, holding them accountable, years later, for what had been a mistake not of their making, and then getting rid of them when technically they met minimum standards of performance. Besides, by 1963, Project 20-3 had probably achieved the desired results. Board actions had retired 756 officers, presumably the least effective of those being considered, while others had voluntarily retired rather than face board action, and still others had improved their performance when they suddenly found their service tenure threatened.

The cumulative effect was sufficient to produce a policy change. Looking ahead, Secretary Zuckert sought to reduce the future impact of Project 20-3. He ordered the remaining boards to retire no more than 10 percent of those considered, while, in fact, the boards did not approach even that reduced percentage. Meeting in December 1963 and November 1964, the last two boards

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considered 1,503 officers, but retired only 39 (2.6 percent). In all Project 20-3 retired 795 colonels and lieutenant colonels, about 400 less than originally projected, the difference being largely the change in policy for the last two boards.⁹³

* * * * *

The furor over the involuntary retirements under Project 20-3 aside, the mass retirements of the period were handled without undo difficulty, largely because the military establishment, with Congressional support, had adopted a flexible approach in keeping the number and the rank structure in balance. The key decisions were allowing Regular officers to retire before their mandatory dates and allowing Reserve officers to serve beyond twenty years. The policies set in motion in the late 1950s and early 1960s would essentially guide the retirement of the first generation of officers of the independent Air Force. Even the Vietnam War would force only minor changes, and only with regard to Regular officers. The mass retirements also began to remove from the scene a generation with poor academic achievements and, for the first time, make the goal of a college-educated officer corps a real possibility at some point in the future.

Other problems, however, remained. The officer retention effort ended its first decade with mixed results. Retention had improved, but not to the minimum level needed to sustain a quality force. The failure of the Bolte legislation to update the OPA of 1947 forced the Air Force to repeatedly seek grade relief to keep some sort of temporary promotion system going. Had temporary promotions been reduced, Reserve officers would have had correspondingly reduced promotions opportunities. Had temporary promotions ceased, Reserve officers would have had no chance at active duty promotions, and with devastating consequences for officer retention.

In fact, the Bolte legislation's failure—attributable to its excessive detail, attempts to impose uniform policies on quite different military services, and the unsettled conditions of the times—was the most important personnel event of the period. When combined with the Vietnam War, the Bolte failure probably delayed the enactment of adequate officer personnel legislation for at least a decade.

Chapter Nine

The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations: Pressure for Change 1960-1966

The overall manpower figures in the early 1960s were not marked by the wild swings of the previous decade. Total personnel strength bottomed out in late 1960 at about 810,000, although officer strength, still feeling the effects of the protracted force reduction that began in 1957, continued to decline for another few months. Driven by the force increases generated by the Berlin Crisis in 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, active duty strength rose to 875,000 in 1963 before beginning a slow decline to about 832,000 in 1965. Officer strength rebounded to 131,500 by 1963 and stabilized at that level.¹

The relative calm allowed the service to finally complete the realignment of its officer procurement system, a realignment that led to the termination of programs that did not require a college education as a prerequisite. The retirement of a large number of rated officers was not matched by a corresponding increase in production as the Kennedy administration sought to hold down costs while forcing the Air Force to improve the efficiency of its flight training programs. Consequently, the service made its first major overhaul of flight training since World War II.

In 1960, the rated force amounted to about 57 percent of all officers. In 1966, it had declined to 48 percent and continued to fall. While retirements and low training rates were partially responsible for the falling number of rated officers, other factors also contributed. Congress, which had closely monitored rated management since 1957, had never been completely satisfied with efforts to reduce the number of fliers. Pressure on the size of the rated force and the proficiency flying program, pressure the Air Force held in check through 1959, was about to begin anew.

Rated Management: Pressure and Compromise

The pressure to better manage the number of rated officers started in 1957 when the decreasing size of the service and questions about costs forced the grounding of officers with marginal or unsatisfactory rated skills. Congressional criticism began the next year, focusing on the money issues: flight pay, the number of rated officers, and the cost of rated officers not in a cockpit billet retaining their rating through the proficiency flying program. The grounding of some officers and promises of other reforms stayed the Congressional hand for the remainder of the decade, but interest remained high.

On December 1, 1959, the annual Central Flight Status Selection Board convened to examine the records of still more rated officers and ground those no longer essential to the flying mission. The thirty-eight hundred officers facing the board had deficiencies in at least two of seven critical areas. Most commonly, they were overage, had been too long in nonrated jobs, or had too little flying time for the time rated. The board grounded over twenty-one hundred, more than any such board since they were first established in 1954.²

The grounded officers protested immediately. Grounding meant decreased potential for advancement as grounded officers were shunted away from the central mission of the Air Force, to say nothing of the considerable financial loss. For captains and majors, the ranks most affected, the loss of flight pay amounted to as much as a 25-percent cut in income. Surveys had revealed, moreover, that those grounded by previous boards had retired or left the service at a rate over twice that of those who remained on flight status. The outcry, the adverse impact on retention, and the implications for the morale of the rated force were, in the opinion of Gen. Thomas White, the Chief of Staff, too heavy a price to pay. In February 1960, he returned all twenty-one hundred officers to flight status.³

Congress saw this as yet another example of the inability or, perhaps more accurately, the unwillingness, of the Air Force to efficiently manage its rated force. In fact, Congressional displeasure about rated management extended to all three military services. The legislators made that displeasure clear by amending the fiscal year 1961 Defense Appropriations Act to include a 99,046 limit on the total number of rated officers in the services and by cutting \$26 million from the proficiency flying programs. The new ceiling became effective on January 1, 1961.⁴

The legislation meant that over 3,100 officers would have to be removed from flying status during the remainder of 1960. Since Congress had not specified how the cuts should be made, the services adopted an Air Force suggestion that the reductions be proportional. The Air Force, with 71 percent of the rated force, had to ground almost 2,300 officers to get within its new ceiling of 70,620.⁵

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Gen. Thomas D. White,
Air Force Chief of Staff,
1957-1961.



Although the number to be grounded was almost two hundred more than on the order voided by General White, it was much less traumatic. Congress had been swayed sufficiently by the testimony of senior officers, including General White, on the adverse effects of grounding, and probably by letters from service personnel themselves, to soften the blow. The same legislation that imposed the rated ceiling also granted a one-time authority to waive the proficiency requirements for officers with over twenty years of rated service and for officers assigned to remote locations, but to continue their flight pay if they were otherwise qualified for rated duty. The plan, and similar ones to follow, were referred to broadly as the "excusal program" or "excusal status." The money saved under this plan came mostly from not having to support the aircraft that would have been used in proficiency flying.⁶

The Air Force exemptions authorized by Congress amounted to almost 1,600 officers, the majority in the over-twenty category. The records of over 4,000 other officers were screened to identify the additional 728 to be grounded without flight pay. All those selected were either scheduled for mandatory retirement before June 1962 or officers that had filed for separation from active duty. Thus the cuts were made without undue strain on the rated force at large. The events of 1960, however, only hinted at the protracted difficulties the service faced with its rated force.⁷

In early 1960, the unit strength of the Air Force stood at 96 wings, down from a high of 137 in 1957. Most of the disbanded wings had operated aircraft, and the number of authorized rated billets had declined accordingly, but the number of rated officers had not. Shielded by an Air Force that hoarded fliers as a hedge against the initial surge requirement of a wartime emergency and reluctant to ground anyone for reasons beyond their control, rated officers in staff positions requiring rated expertise or in nonrated jobs tended to keep both their position and their rating even as the number of rated billets declined. In 1960, about twenty-five thousand pilots, about 30 percent of the total, were

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assigned outside the cockpit. A 1961 survey found over one thousand officers, some rated for a decade, who had never served in a cockpit billet. All these officers received their flying time in the proficiency flying program.⁸

Within the proficiency program, little had been done to modernize the program's fleet of aircraft. The number of jet aircraft had increased to almost thirteen hundred, but nearly all were T-33s, an obsolete variant of the F-80, and only the fourteen KC-135s were truly first-line aircraft. The remaining sixteen hundred propeller-driven aircraft were all obsolete, the vast majority (over twelve hundred) vintage C-47s from the 1930s.⁹

However sincere the 1957 Air Force promise to modernize the proficiency fleet, it had never been a real possibility. First-line aircraft, expensive and never in abundance, always went first to the service's operational units. After that, the Air Force Reserves, the Air National Guard, and even allied nations enjoyed priority for aircraft over proficiency flying. That doomed the proficiency program to using hand-me-down, obsolete aircraft that no one else wanted.

From the Congressional viewpoint, the Air Force in 1960 spent about \$250 million on a program that allowed as many as a third of its rated officers to get their flying time, and flight pay, in aircraft long rendered obsolete by technological change. However, the proficiency flying program was only one major expense that Congress refused to accept. Worse, by 1960, the number of rated officers exceeded the number of authorized billets by over nine thousand. It was this excess that had prompted the grounding of twenty-one hundred officers early in the year and provoked the Congressional backlash when General White voided the grounding order.¹⁰

While the Air Force was getting smaller, it also was changing in ways that promised still more problems for rated management in the future. Missiles, predicted since the mid-1950s, were making their presence felt, particularly in the area of strategic retaliation where they began to replace bombers in large numbers. Looking still farther ahead, the number of officers in the Operations (flying) career field, of which 97 percent were rated, would decrease by 15 percent (ten thousand billets) by 1965 and 25 percent (sixteen thousand billets) by the early 1970s, even without any further loss in overall service strength.¹¹

Well aware of the major trends—declining numbers and a shift away from flying—the Air Force began to make long-term plans for removing large numbers of officers from flying status. Uneasy about the financial consequences of losing flight pay, the service asked Congress to provide a cushion for those grounded. Called the Accrual System, it would compensate officers grounded for reasons beyond their control at a rate equal to 5 percent of their flight pay, multiplied by the years of rated service. Officers rated for ten years, for example, would receive half their flight pay while those with twenty years' rated service would be grounded with full pay.¹²

Congress seemed receptive to the idea, but the Bureau of the Budget, speaking for the administration, objected. The budgetary office did not oppose

compensation, but found the Accrual System too generous, and in 1960, it advanced its own plan. Named the Requitil System, it accepted the Air Force's formula, but the benefits were reduced 5 percent annually after an individual was grounded, down to one hundred dollars per month, when they ended. Eager to get what it considered to be vital legislation moving, the Air Force accepted the Requitil System, but withdrew its support when the budget office raised the diminishment provision to 10 percent each year. After weighing the two proposals, the House of Representatives passed an amended version of the Accrual System in August 1961, but it got no further than that. After languishing in the Senate until 1963, it was permanently withdrawn from consideration when Congress wrote into the fiscal year 1962 defense budget another means of dealing with the problem.¹³

The problem of surplus rated officers came to a head during the hearings for the fiscal year 1962 Defense Appropriations Bill. In February 1961, the Comptroller General blasted the proficiency program as wasteful and questioned flight pay for officers obviously too old to man cockpit billets even in an emergency. Two months later, an audit by the Government Accounting Office (GAO) led to the sensational charge that the Air Force had at least twenty-seven thousand excess rated officers. The GAO had merely counted cockpit billets and compared that total with the number of rated officers in arriving at that figure. The audit had not considered rated staff officers, students in schools, rated officers in nonrated billets for career broadening, or as a resource to answer a wartime surge requirement.¹⁴

The Air Force countered with its own figures acknowledging a six thousand rated officer surplus that would grow to seventy-five hundred by mid-1962 if unchecked. Regardless of the figure used—six thousand, seventy-five hundred, or twenty-seven thousand—the excess officers and the cost of the proficiency flying program were too much for Congress to tolerate. Even Senator Stuart Symington (D-Missouri), former Secretary of the Air Force, sharply criticized both the surplus and the overall management of the rated force. The temper of the times was so threatening that Secretary of the Air Force Eugene Zuckert admonished Gen. Curtis LeMay, the Chief of Staff, to bring down the costs of the proficiency flying program lest Congress impose its own solution. At a minimum, the Air Force had to ground almost seventy-five hundred officers, almost 11 percent of its rated force, in fiscal year 1962.¹⁵

Faced with the largest grounding action in its history and with the Accrual Pay legislation still in the House of Representatives, the Air Force fell back on the compromise of the previous year, which had excused officers with over twenty years of rated service from proficiency requirements, but had allowed them to keep their flight pay. Testifying before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, Maj. Gen. Elvin S. Ligon, Director of Personnel Planning, requested that the excusal program for officers with over twenty years' service be expanded to include those with over fifteen years' service. The savings from

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Eugene M. Zuckert,
Secretary of the Air Force,
1961-1965.

not having to support proficiency flying would be about \$22 million as opposed to \$42 million if the officers were grounded without flight pay. Congress agreed, and the fiscal year 1962 defense appropriations act was so amended.¹⁶

In June 1962, Congress, in the interest of economy, tightened the rules. The fiscal year 1963 defense appropriations act limited future excusal status to those at least forty-five years old and with at least twenty-two years of rated service. The bill allowed those excused under the two previous defense bills to remain in that status, a generous provision that permitted as many as 10,500 officers to collect flight pay without meeting proficiency requirements, although the number tapered off following the mass retirements in the first half of the 1960s.¹⁷

In the meantime, the Air Force continued changing rated management in response to the pressure and, later, to the generous excusal program Congress was willing to support. By late 1960, rated management had been centralized at the Air Staff level. Previously, the major commands had established their requirements for rated billets and the Air Staff had usually accepted their calculations without question. The major commands could remove or return officers to flight status without consulting higher headquarters, a power not always exercised with sufficient caution. Intent upon solving their own problems, the major commands had used rated officers lavishly and with too little regard for the impact on the service at large. Acceptable during a period of growth, these attitudes became intolerable in an era of Congressional pressure and lower ceilings.¹⁸

In January 1962, all newly rated officers were ordered to spend their first five years in a cockpit billet. Such duty could be extended an additional three years, if necessary. The new policy was designed to quickly build up an individual's rated expertise, provide a quick return on the investment made in those put through flight training, and obviate the embarrassment of rated

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officers who had never been in a cockpit assignment. Beyond that, all rated officers could expect to spend a minimum of fourteen of their first twenty-two years of service in rated billets, defined as either a cockpit assignment or a staff position so closely related to flying that it required rated expertise. The remaining eight years—two periods of four years, roughly at eight to twelve years and again at seventeen to twenty-one years—allowed attendance at professional military schools and career-broadening assignments into nonrated duties.¹⁹

Still other policy changes reduced the cost of proficiency flying beyond the savings realized through the excusal program. In 1961, the Air Force established a familiarization or third-pilot category, but allocated no aircraft or flying time to support officers in this category. They could fly only as additional crew members on aircraft already dedicated to a mission, and their flight requirements were cut from one hundred to fifty hours annually. At rock bottom, they were required to fly a minimum of four hours per month (four for pay) to collect flight pay, probably the real reason for third pilots in the first place. Initially, about twelve hundred officers became third pilots, but that number apparently increased in subsequent years.²⁰

In 1963, excusal status was extended to officers within six months of retirement or separation from active duty or, at the commander's discretion, at any time during an officer's terminal duty assignment. A year later, and in a change similar to the third-pilot category, proficiency requirements for other rated officers (navigators, observers, etc.) were cut to sixty hours annually. Initially, flying four for pay applied, but even that ceased in the summer of 1965. Henceforth, rated officers had only to meet the annual flying hour requirements, make sure that at least 40 percent of the minimum number of hours were flown in each semiannual period, and accomplish all proficiency items—cross-country navigation legs, instrument procedures, nighttime flying, etc.—to draw flight pay.²¹

The policy changes of the first half of the decade were largely successful. The number of officers on flight status declined to match the number of validated rated billets, most officers removed from status still received flight pay, and the proficiency flying program was reduced. During the first half of the decade, the number of C-47s and T-33s, the principal aircraft used in proficiency flying, declined by over half, and if the figures for fiscal year 1961 can be taken as representative, a third was cut from the program's budget.²²

Despite having weathered the challenges of the period, proficiency flying remained highly controversial. Congressional generosity was limited to cushioning the financial shock for officers grounded for reasons beyond their control. It did not extend to funding a program that allowed officers to fly four for pay each month in aircraft long obsolete, nor did Congressional generosity in any way arrest the downward trend of the program. Proficiency flying had been on the defensive since 1957 and would continue that way.

Flight Training: Small Numbers and an Emerging Anomaly

Not surprisingly, flight training also declined in parallel with the reduced requirements and the grounding of a substantial numbers of officers. Flight training bottomed out in fiscal year 1962 with the production of only 2,539 rated officers (figure 8), more than 70 percent below the peak year, 1955, when nearly 9,500 pilots and navigators completed flight training.

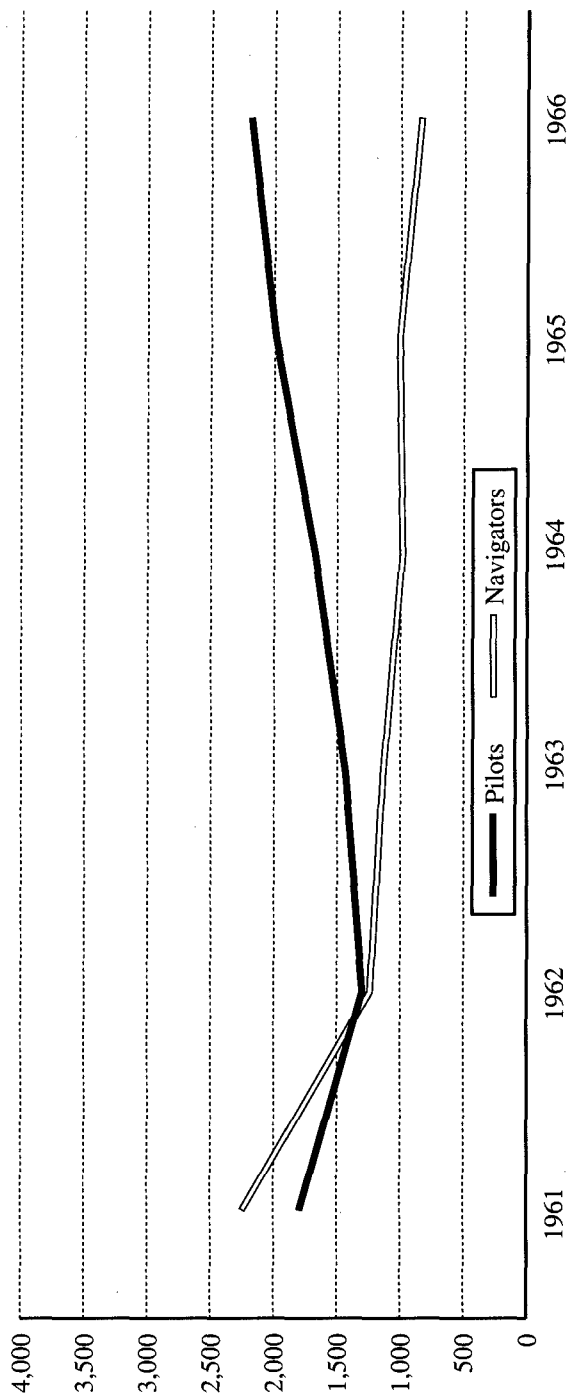
In navigator training, the brief production surge in fiscal year 1961 (to 2,247) ended a navigator shortage caused by training shortfalls in the previous two years. That was followed by a rapid phaseout of over one thousand B-47 bombers and associated KC-97 tankers that freed many navigators for assignment elsewhere. Overall, the number of navigators remained very stable, and only about 1,500 navigators were among the 10,500 rated officers on excusal status. In 1964, projections showed more than enough navigators to meet all requirements for the next several years even with the reduced training.²³

The main pressure on navigator training was to hold down costs, which base consolidation and reductions in training time accomplished. The consolidation program actually began about 1955 with the closing of several training schools, and by 1960, only four bases still trained navigators. The basic course, now called Undergraduate Navigator Training (UNT), was taught at James Connally AFB and Harlingen AFB, both in Texas. Advanced training was divided among three bases: Radar Intercept Officer (RIO) training at James Connally, Electronic Warfare Officer (EWO) training at Keesler AFB, Mississippi, and Navigator-Bombardier Training (NBT) at Mather AFB, California.

The final consolidation took place in two phases. In July 1962, Harlingen closed and all UNT functions were transferred to James Connally. One month later, EWO training moved to Mather, although Keesler remained open as a training center for other specialties. Three months later, RIO training ended, leaving the Air Force with undergraduate training (UNT) at James Connally and advanced training (EWO and NBT) at Mather. In August 1965, even that division ended when UNT was transferred to Mather. James Connally remained open until April 1966, when the last UNT class graduated.²⁴ The choice of Mather was apparently dictated by good flying weather, adequate ramp space for almost one hundred T-29 aircraft, and the proximity of the Pacific Ocean for training over water.

The UNT syllabus changes made in the period followed a path more convoluted than that of the rather straightforward consolidation program. The few changes made early in the decade tended to be minor additions and deletions that neither added nor subtracted from the course length of forty-two weeks for student officers and forty-five for Aviation Cadets, the longer period for Aviation Cadets due to the officership courses they took in addition to

Figure 8
Flight Training
 Fiscal Years 1961-1966



Sources: see appendix 3, Flight Training, Fiscal Years 1954-1974.

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navigation training. The first major change came in November 1962 when the 165 hours of instruction in basic electronics, shifted in 1957 to the advanced courses, returned to UNT. The reason for the return was that too many students in the advanced courses failed electronics and were eliminated from training. Since failure to complete an advanced course also meant loss of aeronautical rating, the time and money invested in sending the grounded students to advanced courses had been wasted. Better to eliminate them during UNT and spare the service the expense of their training.²⁵

Unfortunately, the effect of the basic electronics course on UNT was equally detrimental. The elimination rate for UNT climbed, and the course length, already considered excessive, increased another seven weeks. In 1964, the course length, program costs, the impending consolidation at Mather, and criticisms leveled by the major commands at recent UNT graduates forced an examination of how navigators were trained. Under the direction of Lt. Gen. William W. Momyer, the ATC Commander, a whole new training philosophy emerged.

Basically, officials found that navigator training was long on theory and short on practice, as UNT students spent 1,115 hours in the classroom but only 176 hours in the air. The most obvious culprit was the basic electronics course which was not only lengthy but somewhat superfluous. A navigator faced with airborne electrical problems needed to know which fuses, circuit breakers, and amplifiers to check. Basically, he needed a troubleshooting manual, not seven weeks of electronic theory.

In August 1965, with the beginning of UNT at Mather, the number of flying hours was increased from 176 to 255 and 123 hours were cut from academic training. The reduction in academic training came about from the near total elimination of the basic electronics course. Henceforth, only those in EWO training would receive comprehensive electronic training; all other students received only a few hours on the electrical system of the T-29 aircraft.²⁶

Concurrent with the increase in the number of flying hours came a revolution in the use of those hours. Formerly, the instructor navigator and pilot positioned the aircraft over the predetermined mission departure point at which time the actual training began. Students then passively tracked the progress of the aircraft, usually using only one aid to navigation. While such training produced navigators technically adept at tracking the aircraft, it failed to satisfy the demands of the operational commands for well-rounded crew members.

Under the new philosophy, student navigators became much more involved in the overall mission. Under an instructor's supervision, they exercised responsibility for everything from the mission briefing to monitoring the position of the aircraft at all times using multiple navigation aids to directing the aircraft on final approach for landing using the airborne radar. One student served as the mission's lead navigator, with the additional responsibilities of

Lt. Gen. William W. Momyer,
Commander, Air Training Command,
1964–1966.



making the heading corrections to keep the aircraft on course and coordinating the activities of all other student navigators on the crew. The lead duties were rotated each mission, providing each student with about thirty hours of lead time prior to graduation.²⁷

General Momyer was pleased with the revamped program, which he believed would produce better navigators at lower cost. Most of the lower cost resulted from the reduction of the training time to only thirty-two weeks. The shortened course, plus a concurrent effort to provide more UNT instructors on longer tours, had an additional benefit. Within a few years, the demand for navigators began to climb in response to the Vietnam War, but the experienced instructor cadre and sufficient capability to expand production allowed the UNT program to meet those demands without undue difficulties until about 1970.

Pilot training during the period faced a much different set of problems than navigator training. In 1960, about 58,200 pilots were on active duty. Five years later, on the eve of the Vietnam War, the figure stood at 51,200, making the loss of rated strength during the period almost exclusively pilots. At the same time, some 9,000 pilots were in excusal status. Combined, the two figures meant that about 16,000 fewer pilots were flying in 1965 than at the beginning of the decade. This lower number was at least partially balanced by a decline in pilot requirements by perhaps 10,000 billets and by reduced pilot training in the first years of the decade.²⁸

Yet an anomaly was emerging, an anomaly that could not be read into the gross trends. The number of pilots required had declined, a problem that had been solved by reducing training and placing thousands of pilots in excusal status, but the Air Force faced a future pilot shortage, even before the extra requirements of the Vietnam War were added. The problem lay in the age distribution among the pilots. Despite the many thousands trained since 1945,

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about half the pilots on active duty in 1963 had earned their wings in World War II. Many would retire by 1966, giving the service a deficit of about five thousand pilots unless some action was taken.²⁹

Efforts to cushion the shock of the mass retirements took several forms. Some of the older pilots on excusal status had been placed there not because they were no longer needed, but to free rated billets for younger men who would be around for years to come. In early 1964, the records of over eleven thousand pilots in nonrated duties were screened, and over seventeen hundred received orders back into rated service during fiscal year 1965. Also in 1964, the requirement that newly rated officers spend at least five years in a cockpit job was rescinded. Newly rated officers were initially assigned to aircrew duties, but not for any specific time, a change that allowed more flexibility in managing the force during the impending shortage.³⁰

These measures, however, produced far too few pilots to solve the problem. Only increased pilot training could do that, and in 1961 the Air Staff proposed that pilot training should not be allowed to drop below 1,500 annually. Swayed more by the current excess number of pilots and the ongoing excusal program than by predictions of future shortages, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara disapproved the plan and imposed a ceiling of 1,200 annually. Under pressure, he agreed to allow future production to fluctuate between 1,200 and 1,750 to redress shortages, but nothing more.³¹

His decision brought a barrage of protests from virtually every level of the Air Force. Gen. Frederic H. Smith, Jr., the Vice Chief of Staff, privately called it the "dumbest program they ever had." In more diplomatic language, Secretary Zuckert and Lt. Gen. James E. Briggs, ATC commander at the time, argued that a fluctuating level of pilot training meant that the number of training bases would also fluctuate. Since opening and closing bases was expensive, inefficient, and highly detrimental to training, that was not a prudent management procedure. Besides, projections indicated a need to increase pilot training to three thousand annually by 1967, so the number of training bases should not be allowed to fall below the eight currently active.³²

At first McNamara resisted, but in the summer of 1962 he approved the funding for an annual training rate of two thousand by 1966 at eight bases. Both figures fell far short of what the Air Force had projected—three thousand annually at as many as thirteen bases—but the Defense Secretary clearly expected the service to do something to increase pilot production without additional costs. Caught between a projected pilot shortage and a restrictive budget, the Air Force had to take a hard look at how it trained pilots, the first such evaluation since World War II.³³

Until 1961, a multiple-base system provided the framework for pilot training. Students reported to one of six bases for primary training by civilian instructors in propeller-driven T-34s and, later, by military instructors in jet-propelled T-37s. Those completing that phase of training then reported to one

Robert S. McNamara,
Secretary of Defense,
1961–1968.



of seven bases for additional training by military instructors in the T-33 prior to getting their wings.

In late 1958, Bainbridge AFB, Georgia, a primary training base, began a study to see if the T-34s could be eliminated without compromising training. Dubbed "Project All-Jet," the study focused on two primary training classes (60-D and 60-K). Some students received 30 hours of training in the T-34 and 100 hours in the jet propelled T-37, while others received 130 hours in the T-37. Both groups were then assigned to Vance AFB, Oklahoma, for a side-by-side comparison in advanced training. The two groups did equally well.³⁴

That was good news since it eased the planned consolidation of pilot training into a smaller number of bases than the thirteen then in use. In December 1960, the use of civilian instructors ended, the T-34 was phased out as a training aircraft, the six primary training bases were closed, and the next three pilot training classes (62-C, 62-D, and 62-E) were canceled. In the time made available by the cancellations, all aircraft, personnel, and equipment of the primary training bases were transferred to the bases previously involved only in the advanced phase of training. In a move similar to the consolidation phase in navigator training, pilot trainees remained at the same base for all their training. The various phases were marked not by transfers to another base, but merely by changes in training aircraft. The reconstituted program, named Undergraduate Pilot Training (UPT), was located at eight bases.³⁵

Paralleling the base consolidation program and the initiation of UPT were some major problems with the aircraft used in training. By 1961, the T-37 had earned a bad reputation. Students deliberately induced aircraft spins in order to practice recovery procedures. Unfortunately, the T-37 occasionally failed to come out of the spin. The problem remained acute until 1963, and ended only after repeated and extensive changes in spin-recovery procedures, strict limitations on the maneuvers used to initiate spins, and modifications to the aircraft.³⁶

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The other aircraft-associated problem involved the T-38, the plane used in the advanced phase of training. The aircraft performed well and introduced students to state-of-the-art supersonic flight while still in training. The problem was the complex management problem created by phasing in the T-38 and simultaneously phasing out the older, subsonic T-33. Support systems for the older aircraft had to be progressively reduced at each base undergoing transition, while the same systems for the newer trainer were progressively increased. The instructors qualified in each aircraft had to undergo a similar shift. The use of two aircraft in advanced training also required separate syllabi, an awkward situation given the difference between the aircraft. The balancing act went on from 1962, when the T-38 entered the inventory at Webb AFB, Texas, until early 1967, when training in T-33s ended at Craig AFB, Alabama.³⁷

In 1963, the pilot training syllabus came under careful scrutiny, and officials found much room for improvement. Many academic subjects taught on a "nice to know" level could be deleted entirely without adversely affecting training. Some flight maneuvers—chandelles, lazy eights, etc.—as well as some instrument procedures had outlived their usefulness and could be dropped without penalty. Other efforts went into eliminating duplication in instruction as students went from one phase of training to another. In all, the changes deleted about 150 classroom hours from the training syllabus.³⁸

Most of the reevaluation, however, centered on changes to the flying portion of the program. Both the Air Staff and ATC Headquarters agreed that the 262 flying hours, split evenly between the primary (T-37) and advanced (T-33/T-38) phases, expended on each pilot trainee were excessive. They also agreed that the primary phase could take the largest cuts, although some negotiations took place before arriving at a program of 100 hours in the T-37 and 110 in the T-33 or T-38. The changes, both classroom and flying, resulted in a program of forty-five weeks, ten fewer than its predecessor. In July 1963, the first class using the new syllabus began training on a trial basis at Laughlin AFB, Texas.³⁹

Although the students at Laughlin needed about ten more flying hours than planned to reach the desired levels of proficiency, the new program showed great promise from the very beginning. Plans moved forward rapidly to have it in use at all bases by mid-1965. The only major disagreement centered on the primary phase. The Air Staff vigorously advocated a return to civilian instructors in light propeller-driven aircraft as a part of the training, and ATC Headquarters just as vigorously fought the idea.

The Air Staff voiced skepticism that 100 hours in the T-37 alone would bring students up to the minimum desired levels of proficiency. It advocated a further reduction to 90 hours in that aircraft, but proposed 30 hours in a light, conventional aircraft similar to the T-34 at the very onset of training. The resulting 120 flying hours in the primary phase should produce students of acceptable quality. The training in the light aircraft would also serve as an

additional filter to eliminate those unlikely to finish the program, thereby freeing billets in the T-37 for more promising candidates. The Air Staff buttressed its argument by suggesting that the change would meet with approval from Secretary McNamara.⁴⁰

Speaking for ATC, General Briggs labeled the proposal "retrogressive," adding that the 30 additional flying hours would require students to master another aircraft and would add an additional five weeks to pilot training. However, he gradually came to believe that the benefits of light plane training would more than offset the liabilities. He approved a change that redistributed the flying hours to 30 in a light aircraft, 90 in the T-37, and 120 in the T-38 or the T-33, a schedule that was called the 30/90/120 program. A test of this concept began at Laughlin in 1964, with the student pilots selected from among AFROTC graduates who had received light plane training prior to commissioning. In late 1963, the Cessna 172 won a competition for the light trainer and 170, redesignated the T-41, were purchased at a cost of slightly over \$7 million. In 1964, five civilian flying schools received contracts to administer training in the new aircraft. Training in the T-41 took place at small civilian fields near the training bases, maintaining the policy that trainees be assigned to one base throughout UPT.⁴¹

The last two constraints on pilot training involved space limitations. The first was ramp saturation, a function of the number of takeoffs, landings, and taxiing aircraft each base could tolerate. Calculations indicated that each base could handle about eighty-two hundred sorties each month before becoming saturated. Studies in 1964 showed that bases needed only an occasional increase in their normal schedule (from a five-day week with Saturday as a makeup day to a six-day week with Sunday as a makeup day) to achieve that figure. That finding led to a rejection of a plan to fly each T-37 an additional fifteen hours per month because training bases were often enough on a schedule that saturated the ramps.⁴²

The second limitation involved airspace. All training bases had a certain amount of air above ground reserved for their purposes. Entry of other than training aircraft into that airspace was heavily restricted, and usually required prior permission from the controlling base. Ideally, each base should have had about 55,000 cubic miles of airspace for its use, but no base had more than 41,500 cubic miles and one had only 25,000. In 1962, before any increase in training, congested airspace surfaced as a problem when training aircraft were involved in four midair collisions. Officials were, nevertheless, optimistic that the congestion could be managed by making students aware of the problem and by judicious scheduling to keep the number of aircraft in the airspace at any one time below the danger level. The difficulty of carving additional airspace out of the crowded American skies left little choice.⁴³

In the final evaluation of the 30/90/120 program, officials felt certain that it could produce about twenty-nine hundred pilots annually, with thirty-one

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hundred theoretically possible, even given program constraints. The 30/90/120 program was introduced at all pilot training bases in July 1965, just in time for the major American involvement in Vietnam. Almost immediately, the demand for pilots began to climb as more and more units were sent to the war zone. That demand was further exacerbated by the policy that Vietnam tours would be limited to no more than one year.⁴⁴

Once again, officials began exploring still other ways to increase pilot production. In late 1965, General Momyer asked for seventy-five additional training aircraft or, alternatively, an additional training base. Given the inability of most bases to accommodate aircraft and flight missions beyond those already programmed, he undoubtedly wanted, and needed, both the aircraft and the base. Momyer further counseled against any reduction in the training syllabus, particularly if flight missions were sacrificed. He was already a bit worried about the quality of pilots trained under the 30/90/120 program.⁴⁵

The Air Staff denied Momyer's request, but, in April 1966, asked the general to determine if pilot training could be increased further at the eight existing bases. This was the first indication that an increase was in the offing to extend pilot training beyond the 2,900 pilots annually that could be produced. In response, ATC based its study on a six-day week with Sunday for makeups. The additional training day would allow sufficient flying hours per month per base to train an additional class. The increased workload would require the infusion of about twenty-five more aircraft and almost two thousand additional manpower spaces. The proposed program could have produced 3,280 pilots per annum, an increase of about 300. Worried about the fatigue factor on both man and machine, ATC recommended an additional base rather than a six-day week.⁴⁶

In the meantime, pilot production reached 2,181 in fiscal year 1966, the first time the 2,000 mark had been exceeded since fiscal year 1959, but, beset by a war and the mass retirements of the period, the service already had a pilot deficit. In the next few years, annual pilot production would soar well past the 3,000 mark, but even that would not be enough. Overlaying the tensions generated by rising production and an even more rapidly increasing demand were differences between the management philosophies of the service and those of Secretary McNamara. Apparent throughout the first half of the 1960s, those differences took on a sharper edge as the pilot shortage intensified during the Vietnam War.⁴⁷

All the major officer personnel problems of the period affected heavily the various procurement programs that collectively responded to changing requirements. The difference was that the procurement programs had arrived at a point where they could begin satisfying the demands for quality, quantity, and responsiveness much better than in the 1950s. Most of the problems with officer procurement in the previous decade had centered on a rigid, unresponsive Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps and the poorly educated per-

sonnel attracted to the Aviation Cadet and Officer Candidate School programs. The necessary changes began in 1959 with the creation of the Officer Training School and were essentially completed in 1965 when the Aviation Cadet program produced its last second lieutenant. (See table 14, Officer Procurement Sources, Fiscal Years 1960–1966.)

The Air Force Academy: Trouble in a House Divided

For the United States Air Force Academy, the numerical trend during the period was generally upward, and by the middle of the decade, it equaled the other two military academies in producing Regular officers for their respective services. Nevertheless, small, but ever declining, numbers of cadets from West Point and Annapolis continued to enter the Air Force well into the decade. In March 1964, the 88th Congress enacted Public Law 276 (PL 88–276), raising the Air Force Academy corps of cadets from 2,529 to 4,417, to be achieved by 1971. The larger cadet body would provide over 900 graduates annually, enough to fill about 30 percent of the Regular officer billets granted each year. The legislation also increased the West Point corps of cadets to the same strength.⁴⁸

All seemed to be proceeding smoothly at the new academy. In a few short years, it had grown in size and had achieved a high level of academic excellence. The academic achievements included prompt accreditation, a graduate program for master's degrees, Rhodes and Fulbright Scholars, and a range of majors that was equal to most civilian institutions. Yet the drive for academic excellence had its cost, and in the early 1960s, a darker side of academy life began to emerge.

All military academies had to perform a balancing act because, unlike civilian universities, they were bipolar. On the one hand was the academic side of the school, headed by the Dean of Faculty. The academic side was balanced by military training, something civilian institutions did not have, headed by the Commandant of Cadets. The balancing act involved how students divided their time between academic and military matters. Without exception, deans and commandants tried to advance their causes by diverting student time to their respective sides. This tug-of-war was refereed by the Academy Superintendent, and the division of student time between academic and military pursuits greatly influenced the direction and flavor of the institution. That academics prevailed in the formative years of the Academy stemmed from the early emphasis placed on academic credentials, but it was also influenced by personalities, or at least one personality, and by assignment policies.

The personality was Brig. Gen. Robert F. McDermott, the Dean of Faculty, a man with an unusual background for a military officer. A graduate of the Boston Latin School, he enjoyed a classical education that included four years

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of Latin, four of French, and three of German. In his senior year he shared the school's musical honors with classmate Leonard Bernstein. McDermott subsequently attended Norwich University before entering West Point, from which he graduated in 1943. A full colonel after only eleven years of service, he assumed the position of dean in 1956 at thirty-six years of age.⁴⁹

Table 14

Officer Procurement Sources Fiscal Years 1960–1966

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
USAFA	268	270	290	489	495	505	480
West Point	*	*	62	49	66	24	*
Annapolis	58	46	81	56	3	10	4
AFROTC	3,672	3,270	3,258	3,385	3,962	4,509	4,790 [†]
OTS	322	525	2,268	5,375	4,438	3,582	2,562
Aviation Cadet	1,598	2,149	522	492	211	159	-
OCS	424	396	259	-	-	-	-

* The West Point figures are included in with the USAFA figures for the year.

[†] Approximate

Sources: *Air Force Statistical Digests*, FY 1960, table 144, p. 238, FY 1961, table 135, p. 260, FY 1964, table 122, p. 237, FY 1965, table 117, p. 219, FY 1966, table 120, p. 271; Hodge, "An Historical Analysis of the United States Naval Academy Graduates in the United States Air Force," table 1-1, p. 7; AU history, AUOI-H study 11, undated, p. 14; George Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in Limited War," p. 66; *Department of Defense Annual Report*, FY 1963, p. 267, FY 1964, p. 310, FY 1965, p. 350; staff histories, Directorate of Personnel Procurement and Training, Jan. 1-Jun. 30, 1962, p. 41, Jan. 1-Jun. 30, 1963, pp. 49-50; histories, Directorate of Military Personnel, Jan. 10-Jun. 30, 1962, p. 119, Jul. 1-Dec. 31, 1963, part I, p. 39, Jan. 1-Jun. 30, 1964, part II, pp. 7-8.

The factor of assignments came about as a result of the different policies applied to the Dean of Faculty, the Commandant of Cadets, and the superintendent. The dean enjoyed tenure, but the superintendent and the commandant were assigned and reassigned in a fashion common to other general officers. By the time McDermott retired in 1968, the academy had seen five superintendents and six commandants, but only two deans if the one-year appointment (1955–1956) of Brig. Gen. Don Zimmerman is counted. McDermott's twelve years

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Brig. Gen. Robert F. McDermott,
Air Force Academy Dean of Faculty,
1956-1968.



as dean gave the ambitious and capable officer time to accumulate power and to advance, persistently and successfully, the academic side of the academy with a mixture of policies that had both short- and long-term objectives. By the mid-1960s, some cadets had an academic workload as much as 75 percent greater than that carried by students at civilian institutions, and academics consumed 77 percent of semester hours (15 percent for military training and 8 percent for athletics) and accounted for 70 percent of a cadet's class standing. Class standings were particularly important since they influenced initial active duty assignments and governed promotion list seniority.⁵⁰

The weight given academics cut heavily into the military training side of academy life, both in terms of the amount of time allotted and the weight given when determining class standings. Military training was further weakened by the frequent changes in the Commandant of Cadets. Since each commandant's tour was only about two years, each tended to concentrate heavily on policies designed to show quick results. Military training was marked by abrupt, frequent changes that provided no clear-cut, long-term objectives. Strict, even harsh, discipline became synonymous with military training and a substitute for instructing young men in the military skills they would need as officers. Hazing, forbidden since the founding of the academy, had crept back into cadet life.

By 1962, the effects of neglected military training were all too obvious. Cadet resentment was strong and focused on those directly responsible for military training, the Air Officers Commanding (AOCs). Themselves young officers, the AOCs tried to maintain order, but they had no official guidance on what they should teach cadets. As a result, the AOCs punished rather than instructed and, in doing so, earned still more contempt from cadets. Many AOCs came across as mindless martinets, far more interested in passing out demerits for dust in a corner or a missing button than in teaching the skills of a military officer. Small wonder that over 90 percent of the cadets in a survey

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rejected their AOCs as role models in favor of academic instructors who were helpful and who tried to motivate them in a positive manner.⁵¹

The cadets' overwhelming acceptance of academic instructors as role models was the most telling symptom of a gap that had opened between the academic and military sides of the academy. Academic instruction was carried out in a relaxed, open atmosphere not unlike that at civilian institutions of higher learning. Both cadets and instructors found that atmosphere more to their liking than the harder milieu of the military side of academy life. In fact, many academic instructors functioned as college professors, forgetting that they were also military officers who had at least some responsibility for the discipline and military training of their students. That only added to the problem of the AOCs by placing the training burden entirely on their shoulders.

In 1963, the state of morale and discipline caused concern at the highest levels. In February of that year, General LeMay, the Chief of Staff, expressed those concerns in a letter to Maj. Gen. Robert Warren, the Academy Superintendent. LeMay questioned an atmosphere that seemed to use fear and punishment as the primary tools for developing leaders. The Air Force, he continued, needed leaders, thinkers, and innovators far more than copiers, drivers, and followers. He ordered the creation of an atmosphere that maintained discipline while respecting human dignity and fostering personal growth within the individual.⁵²

LeMay's letter was followed by two groups of general officers who visited the academy to evaluate military training. Both groups filed unfavorable reports. Hazing, in the form of petty harassment and the commitment to memory of vast amounts of worthless information, should be eliminated. Overall, the generals noted a lack of uniformity within the wing, a deficient attitude toward discipline, and cadets who, while intelligent, were arrogant and rigid in their attitudes. Like LeMay, the generals recommended changes in military training to redress the shortcomings. The commandant, Brig. Gen. Robert N. Strong, responded by removing all control cadets may have had in decisions concerning the corps of cadets and by increasing the number of AOCs, but it was too late.⁵³

By early 1964, at least forty-six cadets were actively cheating and the number was growing. Unique among the several military academy cheating scandals in the post-World War II period, this one was well organized and included criminal acts. By late 1964, cadets had managed to bypass the security systems and gain entrance to the academic complex where they routinely stole copies of academic examinations. They reproduced and sold the copies to distributors, fetching as much as two hundred dollars for a copy of a final exam. The distributors then sold the exams to still other cadets for whatever the market would bear. Some cadets served as enforcers, silencing potential informers with threats of physical violence. Still other cadets were involved in

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a more informal form of cheating: they simply passed exam questions to cadets taking the same exam but at a later time.⁵⁴

Such conduct would have been intolerable at any institution, civilian or military, educational or otherwise. For the Air Force Academy, it was a disaster because it placed a large number of cadets in gross violation of the Cadet Honor Code. The honor code, adopted largely from the West Point model and administered by the cadets themselves, was simultaneously the simplest and the most difficult standard by which cadets measured their personal conduct. The simplicity was in the clarity of the code's thirteen words:

A Cadet will not lie, cheat, or steal nor tolerate those who do.*

The difficulty lay in the moral dilemma imposed by the code's nontoleration clause. When a cadet detected another cadet in violation of the code, he was obligated to report the offense to the proper authorities, never an easy task for young people who have always held "squealing" and "squealers" in low esteem, if not contempt. That reluctance was sharpened by the poor morale and discipline at the academy which, in addition to the other problems it engendered, had lowered the respect of cadets for their own honor code. Many saw the code merely as another of the academy's many regulations. "Barracks lawyers" held lengthy discussions with the intent of finding ways to defeat the code or at least of identifying gray areas where it might be used to their advantage.

Paralleling the low morale and the pervasive cheating was the rise of strong peer groups among the cadets that further strained loyalty to the institution and its values. Peer groups have developed typically in most all human contact, and, in the main, have provided the group members with the identification, friendship, and emotional support people needed to ease the burden of life. The groups could be as small as two roommates or as large as any unit that, for whatever reasons, saw itself as a distinct entity. The youth movement that blossomed in the late 1960s was perhaps the best contemporary example of an extremely large peer group. In general, peer groups were benign and passed largely unnoticed, attracting attention only when they placed themselves outside the social norms or ran afoul of the law.

The Air Force Academy, and the entire military for that matter, probably possessed as many peer groups as any other part of society. In fact, the military has actively fostered peer groups, particularly the identification of individuals with their comrades and units, as a means of fostering pride, cohesion, esprit, and combat effectiveness. Distinctive scarves, patches, and badges were worn

* The prohibitions against lying, cheating, and stealing were adopted verbatim from West Point. The USAFA added the nontoleration clause when it fashioned its code in the mid-1950s and the clause was, in turn, incorporated by West Point in 1970.

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to promote and reinforce that identification. In a larger sense, the military uniform served that same purpose.

Groups cause no problems unless they move outside acceptable parameters and become strong enough to command the loyalties of the members. This happened at the Air Force Academy in the early 1960s. Although several peer groups were involved, the most notable formed among athletes, especially football players. As with so many institutions of higher learning, the USAFA emphasized football. The first chart on the athletic department's briefing stated, admittedly tongue-in-cheek, "The mission of the Air Force Academy is to beat Army and Navy in football." Many players believed that they had been recruited only to play football. One player remembered promises of protection from many demands placed on ordinary cadets, plenty of girls, and the "easy life" of an Air Force officer upon graduation. A football player's cadet life probably did not live up to the letter of such promises, but there were compensations such as special diets, excusal from certain forms of physical training, and tutoring during football season. Clearly in light of events, the treatment was sufficient to maintain, and perhaps strengthen, the belief among players that they were a group distinct from other cadets.⁵⁵

When faced with the choice of informing on or tolerating the cheaters, many cadets identified with the peer group rather than a military academy too fractured to command their loyalties. Tolerating the cheaters placed cadets in as much peril as if they were actively cheating and induced some to join the cheating. The scandal broke in January 1965 when two cadets furnished the names of 28 cadets involved in cheating. Both informers had been threatened by cheaters and told to keep their mouths shut. During the subsequent investigation, 109 cadets were charged with violating the cheating or nontoleration provisions of the honor code and allowed to resign. That figure included 29 football players (36 percent of the team) and three cadets who had been their squadron's honor representatives. Not surprisingly, the cheating was centered in those squadrons whose AOCs were held in the lowest regard. Given the difficulties in finding each and every cheater or tolerator, the actual number in violation of the honor code was probably much higher.⁵⁶

Secretary Zuckert immediately appointed a committee, chaired by Thomas D. White, the former Chief of Staff, to investigate the incident and to suggest recommendations for solutions. The committee's report, submitted in May, found multiple causes for the Academy's problems, among them strong peer groupings, poorly trained AOCs, and inadequate military training. The committee made many recommendations, including the deemphasis of football by playing a mixture of prominent and mediocre teams, longer duty tours for both the Superintendent and the Commandant of Cadets, fewer academic exams, and the elimination of some forms of competition that pitted individual against individual and squadron against squadron. They also recommended more careful selection and better training of AOCs, as well as giving them more

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authority and greater freedom of action. Most of the recommendations were accepted, although for obscure reasons the position of the Commandant of Cadets continued to be treated as a line general officer billet with a tour approximately two years long.⁵⁷

Changes initiated by the academy tried to break down the good guy/bad guy (academic instructor/AOC) dichotomy that had developed over the years. Qualified AOCs began teaching some academic hours, although not entire courses, and all AOCs were encouraged to make frequent appearances in the academic complex. Conversely, academic instructors pulled duty as assistant AOCs, made inspections, and worked with newly arrived cadets during the basic training that preceded their first year.⁵⁸

There were larger implications to the scandal that the committee did not see fit to address, probably because they involved forces beyond the ability of the Academy to alter. Many of the traditions and values observed by military academies, honor codes among them, had their roots in the nineteenth century. The academies and the peacetime military services of that time were small, esoteric, and largely isolated from the social mainstream. Officers were governed by institutional values that emphasized the uniqueness of military service, the bonds of brotherhood, and gentlemanly social behavior. Competition was played down, and promotions under the seniority system rewarded years of service rather than performance. That world remained largely intact until World War II.

The post-World War II military has been quite different. The former institutional values have been seriously eroded by the very size of the military, its closer inclusion in the social and political mainstream, the increased interaction of military and civilian skills, and a more competitive atmosphere that rewarded performance rather than longevity. The service academies could not help but be affected by these changes.

The other major change has been the demographic makeup of the cadet corps. From the end of the Civil War until World War I, the cadets came mainly from a relatively narrow social stratum, one that had a tradition of supporting the military and its values. That stratum had been almost exclusively white, totally male, overwhelmingly protestant, predominately rural, and largely southern. To that might also be added a conservative upbringing in a relatively well-to-do family. Although probably weakened by World War I, which gave the military wide public exposure, and the Great Depression, which forced some young men to seek academy appointments just to get an education and a job, that social demography had continuity until the 1940s.⁵⁹

The changes wrought by World War II, the Cold War, and the emergence of a large peacetime military swept away that social base. Increasingly, the cadets at the military academies came to reflect the broad spectrum of American society. The results have been an increasing heterogeneity of people and values, with the result that cadets were more difficult to assimilate into

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academy life than before. The rise of counter and youth cultures in the 1960s, the national self-doubt triggered by Vietnam, and, arguably, increased acceptance of situational ethics have added to the problem. It is worth noting that the first major cheating incident at an American military academy did not occur until the West Point episode in 1951, but by the early 1980s, at least a half-dozen such scandals had taken place. Thus a major, long-term challenge to the air academy, and all military academies for that matter, will be to preserve their traditions and values within the less accommodating realities of a changed military within a changed America.⁶⁰

Procurement: The AFROTC Reforms

Unlike the air academy, the problems in the service's other long-term officer procurement program, the AFROTC, remained essentially the same as they had been since the Korean War. The AFROTC still required four years to produce a second lieutenant, making it largely unresponsive to short-term shifts in requirements. The program required a total enrollment of more than 100,000 to produce as few as 3,300 graduates annually, but over 90 percent of the students were in the basic (freshmen and sophomore) part of the program. Studies forecast as many as 120,000 students in AFROTC by 1970, but with no corresponding increase in production. The large enrollment generated an enormous overhead that made the cost of each graduate unacceptably high at some of the less productive detachments. Officials increasingly faced the possibility of a Congressional reaction against the program's cost. Something had to be done to protect a procurement program that, despite its problems, remained the major source of college-educated officers.⁶¹

As a part of the program to reform the AFROTC, officials tried, as they had in the 1950s, to eliminate the weaker units and transfer the vacated detachments to schools that promised better officer production. In particular, pressure was brought to bear on the twenty-six least productive detachments that collectively graduated only 218 new officers annually. However, since the policy in effect since 1956 mandated that no unit could be discontinued without the approval of the host institution, this tactic met with little success during the first half of the decade. The colleges and universities voiced support for efforts to make the AFROTC program viable and cost effective, but they turned parochial when proceedings began to close their units. The available evidence showed that very few units were closed in the first half of the decade.⁶²

The most successful cost-cutting effort came from reducing the mandatory feature of the AFROTC on many campuses. Almost 90 percent of the over one hundred thousand AFROTC students were in the basic courses, although the overwhelming majority had no intention of seeking a commission. Yet in 1960, 82 of the 180 schools hosting AFROTC required male students to take the basic

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course, and the service had to support them at an enormous cost. Many students erroneously blamed the service for the program's mandatory feature.⁶³

In 1961, the Air Force changed from neutrality, which allowed the host institution to be the final arbiter on mandatory AFROTC, to lobbying for a purely voluntary program. The policy shift aligned the service with a growing popular sentiment that, even before Vietnam, opposed mandatory training. In 1961 alone, the combined pressure caused fifteen institutions to make basic AFROTC an elective. By 1966, only about twenty-nine colleges retained the mandatory feature and total AFROTC enrollment had slipped below seventy thousand, a decline of over one-third since 1961.⁶⁴

Still, the basic impediment to ROTC programs lay in the legal foundations enacted in 1916 that addressed the long-term needs of the Reserve components. Like other officer personnel legislation, notably the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, these statutes became obsolescent with the onset of the Cold War, the emergence of the large standing military, and the redirection of all ROTC programs toward the active duty military. The major effort of the period went into rewriting the legal foundations of officer procurement on college campuses in light of modern needs. The Air Force's effort was initiated in April 1960 by Maj. Gen. William J. Bell, the AFROTC Commandant. General Bell foresaw a lengthy process, probably stretching over several years, but he feared that without changes the AFROTC would be destroyed within a few years by costs, inefficiency, and the suspect quality of some of its graduates. As a first step, a study committee convened in August to identify specific problem areas and draft legislation to overhaul AFROTC. The committee finished its work in December. In March 1961, the legislative package received the blessings of Air Force Secretary Zuckert and began the lengthy process of working its way through the Defense Department bureaucracy. In July 1962, the proposed legislation, now combined with a similar proposal for the Army ROTC, was endorsed by the Defense Department.⁶⁵

The new legislation removed the four-year AFROTC and created a streamlined two-year Officer Education Program (OEP). The new name was both a break with the past and a deliberate effort to avoid the word "reserve." Despite years of publicity to the contrary, many potential cadets still believed that the AFROTC mainly serviced the Reserve components. When fully in place, possibly sometime in the late 1960s, the OEP would have served the same number of campuses, but with fewer than thirteen thousand cadets, all juniors and seniors. Eliminating the bottom-heavy profile that had plagued the AFROTC would in itself have probably made the OEP economically viable.⁶⁶

Beyond that, the OEP offered several other advantages. The two-year OEP was obviously more responsive to changing manpower needs than had been the four-year AFROTC. The shorter program should have attracted students who had been deterred by the AFROTC's length and drawn from a larger pool of students because, despite units on about 180 campuses, the AFROTC had

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reached only about 36 percent of the male collegians. The OEP expanded the potential cadet pool by providing transfer students, particularly those from junior colleges, with an opportunity for a commission. Moreover, the program would have allowed students at institutions without an OEP to enroll in the program of a neighboring school. The recruitment pool was further increased by limiting the OEP to three hours per week, mostly through the reduction of drill. The AFROTC schedule of five hours per week had proven too much at some schools and had forced science and engineering students to choose between their major and a commission. Given the importance of science and engineering to the Air Force, the service lost whichever choice was made.⁶⁷

The OEP also contained provisions for increasing the quality of graduates from the program over officers produced by the AFROTC. Despite their college educations, some officers from the AFROTC failed to meet minimum standards of performance. References to such officers do not shed much light on the nature of the problem, but given the low retention of AFROTC graduates, poor motivation surely played a major role.

The OEP addressed the quality issue by using the Navy's Holloway Program as a guide, a program named after Rear Admiral James Holloway, who supervised its development in 1946. As with the Navy's program, the core of the OEP would be a large number of scholarships, estimated at between fourteen hundred and forty-five hundred annually, awarded on a competitive basis. The criteria used in the competition were not spelled out, but presumably included perceived officer quality and interest in making the service a career. Each scholarship would cover tuition and all school fees during the two years needed to finish the OEP. In addition, each student would receive fifty dollars a month subsistence, including those not on scholarship. Officials were hopeful that the reform legislation could be enacted in time for implementation during academic year 1963/64.⁶⁸

The OEP ran into trouble in 1961 when it was presented to the host colleges and universities for their approval. Some schools found merit in the OEP, but others that wanted to continue compulsory military training rejected it in favor of the four-year AFROTC program. Most schools reserved the right to choose between the two programs or to offer both programs simultaneously. Once again an improved program had gone aground due to conflicting interests of the service and the host institutions, and consistent with previous decisions, the host institutions prevailed. Shortly thereafter, the OEP was dropped entirely in favor of an AFROTC program with a two-year and a four-year option. By 1963, the term OEP was used only to describe the scholarship program, but even that ended by the middle of the year.⁶⁹

Despite the problems, the draft ROTC Vitalization Act, now expanded to include all three military services, went to Congress in early 1963, in time for it to be enacted prior to academic year 1963/64. That timetable was immediately upset when the proposed bill became a pawn in a political quarrel between the

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Defense Department and Congressman Edward Hebert (D-Louisiana), chairman of the House Armed Services subcommittee scheduled to hear the proposed legislation. Hebert, a man with strongly conservative views, was pressuring the defense establishment to expand the Army's high school ROTC program from the existing 254 units to 2,000 units with as many as 250,000 cadets and to make the training mandatory for those schools willing to accept it. He defended his plan on the grounds that military training instilled patriotism, discipline, and a sense of public service, qualities he found lacking in America's youth.⁷⁰

Answering for the Department of Defense, Norman S. Paul, the Assistant Secretary for Manpower, did not question the beneficial aspects of high school ROTC, but he firmly refused to support the expansion on the basis of monetary costs, manpower to support it, and the relatively few cadets who subsequently pursued a military career. Hebert retaliated by writing the high school ROTC program into the ROTC Vitalization Act. That forced his subcommittee and the Defense Department to consider both the high school and college programs simultaneously, probably with the intent of achieving a compromise. The immediate effect of the squabble was to delay the bill for several months and destroy any chance of enactment in time for academic year 1963/64.⁷¹

As approved by the subcommittee, the redrafted ROTC Vitalization Act did include provisions for two thousand high school ROTC units, shared equally by the three military services, but dropped references to mandatory training and authorized the use of retired military personnel to staff portions of both the high school and college programs, thereby answering some of the defense department's concerns over personnel requirements. Congressman Hebert was sufficiently satisfied with the compromise to get the subcommittee to authorize eight thousand scholarships for each service's college-level ROTC, but only for cadets in the four-year portion of the program.⁷²

The Senate Armed Services Committee held hearings on the bill in August 1964. The Committee lowered the ceiling on high school ROTC units to twelve hundred, adjusted the amount of subsistence pay slightly, and, for economic reasons, trimmed the number of scholarships to fifty-five hundred for each of the military services. Unlike the protracted struggle in the House, the Senate Committee completed its work in a single day. The whole Senate approved the measure on September 28, and President Johnson signed it into law as the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964 (Public Law 647, 88th Congress) the following month.⁷³

The Air Force began to take applications for the two-year portion of the AFROTC in January 1965 and, at the same time, began selecting the first one thousand scholarship winners from over twenty-five hundred applicants. In the fall of 1965, the host institutions selected which program they wished to offer their students. Only eight schools retained the four-year program, but, in what must have been a blow to those responsible for the AFROTC, only 19 elected the two-year option. The remaining 155 schools opted to offer both programs,

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a decision entirely in the schools' best interests. Having both options would attract transfer students and those who might be interested in the shorter program, while the four-year program would attract students with an AFROTC scholarship. Having both options would even allow schools to require military training for freshmen and sophomores and still attract junior college transfers and others to the shorter portion during their last two years.⁷⁴

The drawback was, from the service's viewpoint, that the new legislation did not come close to reducing the size of the AFROTC to the point envisioned when the OEP was formulated only a few years earlier. The reduction in the size of AFROTC in the first half of the 1960s came almost exclusively from the many host institutions that dropped the mandatory feature. Whether the revamped AFROTC could achieve such objectives as meeting its procurement quota (last accomplished in 1957) and improving the quality of its graduates was still open to question in the mid-1960s. In fact, those questions defied answering for another decade because the Vietnam War soon confronted the AFROTC with some of the most difficult times ever faced by a procurement program.

Procurement: The Rise of OTS

One of the factors that allowed the air academy, despite its problems, to manage its growth and allowed the AFROTC to at least try to modernize its operations was the cushion of officers that the Officer Training School produced. Instituted in 1959 to replace the OCS and Aviation Cadets programs as the service's short-term procurement program, the OTS more than fulfilled its mission and did so with college graduates. During the first two years of its life, the new program easily met its modest quotas of three hundred in fiscal year 1960 and five hundred in fiscal year 1961. There was never a shortage of interested college graduates, with the number of qualified applicants sometimes exceeding the available billets by 800 percent. Despite predictions of a well-managed increase in the program's size, the relative tranquility of those first two years came to an abrupt end in fiscal year 1962 when OTS underwent a growth spurt and began a period that strained even a program designed to meet the capricious needs of military manpower.⁷⁵

There were two reasons why the OTS grew fourfold in fiscal year 1962. The OCS and the Aviation Cadet Programs had been cut dramatically after the previous fiscal year, leaving the OTS as the only program capable of meeting short-term changes in manpower requirements. It was also in fiscal year 1962 that large numbers of officers commissioned during World War II reached twenty years of service and began to retire. The last factor alone raised the number of officers to be replaced from just under nine thousand in 1961 to over thirteen thousand by 1964.⁷⁶

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Taken together, the factors driving procurement during the first half of the decade struck OTS as a series of sharp jolts. When first projected in January 1961 the OTS quota for fiscal year 1962 was only 900. By October, the figure was 2,280. OTS quickly outgrew its Lackland AFB, Texas, facilities and moved part of its operation to the nearby Medina Base complex, a former bomb dump. Even then, an emergency building program at the Medina Base was needed to prepare for an OTS quota of over 5,000 during fiscal year 1963.⁷⁷

The requirement for qualified applicants soared to about one thousand per month, almost a threefold increase in less than a year, placing recruiters under heavy pressure. The previous surplus of qualified applicants disappeared, forcing the service to lower the minimum passing score on the qualifying examinations to three of nine,* the same as for entry into the AFROTC. At the same time, AFROTC instructors were ordered to steer non-ROTC college students toward the OTS if they showed an interest in a commission.⁷⁸

Still, recruitment quotas were met. In fiscal year 1963, the OTS produced 5,375 new lieutenants, a tenfold increase in just two years and more than half of all new officers for that fiscal year, but with an inevitable cost in terms of quality. Surveys taken of the young officers produced by the OTS in fiscal years 1960 and 1961 (before the production surge) found them to be, in the main, well adjusted and competitive with their peers from other procurement programs after a year of active duty. That quality could largely be attributed to the higher standards and the large ratio of qualified applicants to the available billets. This favorable ratio allowed the service to choose applicants with both the highest qualifying scores as well as a perceived interest in the Air Force beyond merely satisfying their military obligation. This picture vanished, however, in the next two fiscal years when standards were lowered and the gap between applicants and billets narrowed.⁷⁹

Although less than 20 percent of the fiscal years 1962 and 1963 OTS graduates sought wings, the qualitative problem quickly became evident in pilot training. The overall attrition rate for pilot training during those two years hovered at about 18 percent. In contrast, the attrition rate for OTS graduates from pilot training was a horrendous 44 percent in fiscal year 1962 and edged three points higher the following year. Given the projected increases in pilot training later in the decade and the likelihood that OTS participation would increase, the figures were unacceptable.⁸⁰

Some of the OTS graduates eliminated from pilot training had been marginal all along due to physical limitations. They had probably barely passed the initial screening, in such things as eyesight, only to be eliminated by the followup physical at the beginning of pilot training. Most, however, simply had

* Applicants for a commission were tested in three areas—pilot, navigator, and officer quality. The results placed the applicant into one of nine categories with nine being the highest.

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little or no desire to be pilots and had accepted the offer of flight training only get into OTS and thereby avoid the draft. Many resigned from flight training while others put forth little effort to get their wings.

Poor motivation was a built-in problem in OTS, largely because the program was extremely noncoercive. For example, only 69 of the 119 students expected in class 60-B reported for training. Many stayed at home because the reporting date had unwisely been scheduled for the week between Christmas and New Year. Others had merely changed their minds at the last minute. All were allowed to resign without penalty in order to keep OTS as voluntary as possible. Once in the brief ninety-day program, the trainees were expected to adhere to appropriate standards of dress and conduct, pass inspections, meet all required formations, and master their academic requirements. Beyond that, OTS was free of most of the rigid forms of discipline that marked the Aviation Cadet and OCS programs. OTS trainees had a great deal of leeway in how they went about their daily tasks. No harassment was allowed of those discharging their duties, and the harder forms of discipline were reserved for those who did not meet standards. Hazing in any form was strictly forbidden. Trainees were allowed automobiles and could wear civilian clothes during the limited free time available during the last half of the program. The OTS attrition rate seldom exceeded 10 percent.⁸¹

The new philosophy was designed to make the program as attractive as possible to young college graduates. In gross numbers, the OTS did attract sufficient numbers of qualified applicants, but it also attracted those looking for the quickest and easiest way to a commission. Many OTS trainees had passed up an opportunity to enroll in the ROTC program on their campus and had settled on OTS only when graduation, and the draft, loomed. Many, if not most, of those eliminated from flight training were simply trying to avoid the extra year of active duty that came with wings. Always to be a problem with an OTS backed up by a draft, poorly motivated trainees became a critical factor when a large demand for manpower, as in fiscal years 1962 and 1963, precluded their elimination either in the screening for OTS or in OTS.

By August 1963, the emphasis on quantity had strained OTS beyond desirable limits, and the future promised no relief as initial projections called for OTS to gyrate between the extremes of 2,050 graduates in fiscal year 1965 to over 6,000 in fiscal year 1967. Such fluctuations would easily defeat any attempts to return quality to the program. Maj. Gen. Henry K. Mooney, the ATC Vice Commander, alerted the Air Staff to the problem in a personal letter to Lt. Gen. William S. Stone, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel. After briefly reviewing the problems associated with OTS's explosive growth, General Mooney asked that the program be spared the fluctuations forecast in the next few years. He suggested that a median figure of about 4,500 graduates annually through fiscal year 1968 would meet quantitative requirements and still allow OTS to produce the quality of officers the Air Force wanted and needed.⁸²

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In his reply, General Stone expressed sympathy, but promised nothing in the way of relief. In fact, the two generals had no sooner exchanged letters than OTS production objectives were again altered. Four major revisions were made in the last half of fiscal year 1964, including a cut of one thousand (to thirty-five hundred) in the fiscal year 1965 OTS objective as a part of a force reduction designed to trim the Air Force by about forty thousand over a period of eighteen months. This forced the cancellation of OTS attendance for four hundred applicants scheduled to report and halted all nonrated production during the last half of fiscal year 1965. Despite everything, the graduation of class 65-H still had to be slipped one day, to July 1, 1965, to keep the new officers off the final fiscal year 1965 strength report where they would have been in excess of manpower ceilings.⁸³

OTS did not reverse its downward direction even after the nation began the military buildup in response to the widening war in Vietnam. In early fiscal year 1966, forecasts called for increased production during the fiscal year, but that changed two weeks later to further decreases in both the next two years. This time, the cuts were the result of a Defense Department plan to put civilians in some officer billets, presumably ones that required a civilian-oriented skill where the incumbent would not face hostile fire. Initial estimates of the plan's success led to a cut in OTS production to twenty-one hundred during fiscal year 1966. Since a large number of applicants had been accepted and the service was loath to cancel them, as it had done a year earlier, all procurement was halted for three months beginning in October 1965.⁸⁴

Again, ATC protested to the Air Staff, citing its inability to keep qualified OTS staff and instructors, problems in justifying existing building projects (much less new construction), and too many substandard graduates. The list might also have included the public relations cost accrued from fluctuating procurement objectives, renegeing on commitments, and the inability to take applications for certain periods of time. The protest was to no avail, and the fiscal year 1966 OTS production of 2,562 was the lowest in five years.⁸⁵

Still, the OTS had responded to fluctuating requirements, albeit at something of a price, just as it had been designed to do. Yet, as the nation approached the end of its first year of massive involvement in Vietnam, officer production from OTS decreased, a condition unique among the existing officer procurement programs. That contradiction could not endure and would shortly force one of the most dramatic aboutfaces of any commissioning program since World War II.

Procurement: The Demise of OCS and Aviation Cadets

By 1965 and the beginning of the major American involvement in the Vietnam War, the procurement picture was, despite problems, much brighter.

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The service had what it wanted: two long-term programs and a responsive short-term program, all producing officers with college degrees. That being the case, the Air Force had to deal with the OCS and Aviation Cadets programs, which did not require degrees and were obsolete and superfluous to procurement needs.

The OCS was terminated first, in mid-1963, but only after development of a way for enlisted personnel to earn a commission. Providing a means for enlisted personnel to "come up through the ranks" had been Air Force policy throughout the service's brief history and, besides, Congressional interest in the matter would not allow otherwise. The Air Force's answer to the problem was the Airman's Education and Commissioning Program (AECP).

The AECP began taking applications from enlisted airmen in July 1959, a few months after the OTS opened its doors to college graduates. Interested airmen had to have outstanding records, at least two years of college, score at least seven of nine on the qualifying exams, pass a comprehensive knowledge examination, and meet specific requirements in mathematics, English, physics, and chemistry. Successful candidates would attend school full-time at Air Force expense to complete their degrees. Afterward, they would earn their commissions at the OTS and be assigned to either rated or nonrated duties. The AECP had a military obligation of six years, including the time spent as a student and in OTS.⁸⁶

Not surprisingly, given the stiff entry requirements, the fiscal year 1960 quota of two hundred proved difficult to fill, but the first candidates, seeking degrees primarily in engineering, entered student status in January 1960. The first completed school in February 1961 and was commissioned through OTS in May. Two years later, with over four hundred enrolled in the AECP and the OTS producing more than five thousand new lieutenants each year, the OCS was terminated after twenty-two years of service and over 41,000 officers produced. The last class of 119 heard a closing address by Brig. Gen. Joseph R. DeLuca, a 1942 OCS graduate.⁸⁷

The final years of the Aviation Cadet program followed a path of decline similar to that of OCS. In January 1960, all cadet inputs into pilot training ceased and all assets were diverted into navigator training. Three months later, the entire program moved to Harlingen AFB, Texas, one of the two navigator training bases.⁸⁸

Being limited to the lower prestige skill of navigation probably gave the program a few extra years of life. Aviation Cadets made up the bulk of the navigator production surge in the first two years of the decade, but the 3,747 cadets who earned their wings and commissions during that period were the last significant contribution of the program. After that, navigator production declined, and the Aviation Cadet program became little more than a procurement footnote.

In a final bit of irony, the much lower numbers allowed the service to

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impose strict requirements and dramatically raise the academic level of cadets, always the program's main weakness. At the beginning of the decade, fewer than 5 percent of the cadets held college degrees, but in 1963, after the navigator production surge ended, over half had a baccalaureate. In 1965, its final year, over 95 percent had finished college. Still, the Aviation Cadet program was now redundant given the ability of the OTS to meet the responsiveness criterion, and after the middle of 1963, applications were no longer accepted. In 1963, the program moved to James Connally AFB when Harlingen closed, but that was its final move. When all navigation training transferred to Mather AFB in 1965, the Aviation Cadets did not follow. On March 3, 1965, Cadet Steven V. Harper pinned on his second lieutenant bars and navigator wings, marking the end of a program that had produced a half million fliers in its long history.⁸⁹

* * * * *

By the summer of 1965, the Air Force had completed a major realignment in two areas that were very sensitive to quantitative demands. Flight training had been overhauled to increase the number of rated officers without a corresponding increase in funding. Procurement programs had been reduced to three with the elimination of OCS and the Aviation Cadets. Almost twenty years after having identified a college-educated officer corps as an objective, procurement had finally been aligned with that goal. Of equal importance was the fact that the changes to both flight training and procurement had largely been completed before the major involvement in Vietnam. The increased demands brought on by that conflict would not only test the improvements made to existing policies, but would force the service to make other major changes to meet manpower requirements.

The one area involving numbers where disagreement still raged was rated management. Despite the relatively amiable adoption of an excusal program to handle overages in the number of rated officers in the first half of the 1960s, Congress and the Air Force had yet to reach agreement on how the rated force should be managed and whether the proficiency flying program was necessary. In the last half of the decade, the increased demand for rated officers would again bring the issue to the surface, this time focused on the number of pilots the service really needed and how they were managed. The big difference was that the hardest questions came not from Congress, but from Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

Chapter Ten

The Vietnam War and New Management Practices 1965–1973

The Air Force was spared many potential personnel problems during the period of the greatest American involvement in Vietnam (1965–1972) due to initiatives taken in the first half of the 1960s. Congress did not pass the Bolte legislation to update the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, but partially made up for that by passing grade relief that ensured temporary promotions through 1972. Reforms produced three procurement programs that collectively met officer manpower requirements, and did so with college graduates, while modifications to flight training increased the number of new rated officers. Retirement policies were working well despite the retirement of officers in unprecedented numbers, and the excusal program had eased relations with Congress over the number of rated officers. Even the relatively poor academic achievements of the officer corps were improving. Many of these programs were strained by the manpower demands of the Vietnam war, but the Air Force was in much better position than to answer those demands. In fact, only two major issues emerged during the period: furnishing manpower to fight the war and implementing more modern personnel management practices. Of the two, the quest for manpower dominated.

When the French left Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos) in 1955, a 342-man United States Military Assistance Advisory Group, including about 18 Air Force personnel, remained in what was to become the country of South Vietnam. While the United States was a member of the South East Asia Treaty Organization, South Vietnam was not, but had that organization's guarantee of protection from external aggression. Thus was born America's commitment to a small country almost halfway around the world.¹

In October 1961, in response to growing activity by North Vietnamese infiltrators and indigenous Viet Cong guerrillas, the South Vietnamese government accepted an American offer of aerial support. The next month, the

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first Air Force unit, a special air warfare squadron, nicknamed "Farmgate," arrived at Bien Hoa Air Base near Saigon to train the Vietnamese Air Force in unconventional warfare and to provide combat support. Most of the personnel served in temporary duty status (tours limited to six months), a policy that endured until 1964, when the tour became one year.²

Over the next three years, eight more units deployed to Vietnam and the number of Air Force personnel assigned to the country rose steadily from 125 in 1961 to almost 5,000 in August 1964 when American destroyers and North Vietnamese torpedo boats clashed in what became known as the Gulf of Tonkin incident. At the same time, the number of airmen in Thailand increased from 65 to nearly 1,000.³

The tempo of involvement increased sharply the next year. In August 1964, the first Air Force combat units deployed to Thailand; and in February 1965, the dependents of military personnel were evacuated from South Vietnam. By June 1965, Air Force strength in Southeast Asia had almost doubled to about ten thousand, all stationed in South Vietnam or Thailand. Until early 1965, the war had made little impact on the personnel system, and officer assignments to Southeast Asia were handled by a special branch of the Directorate of Military Personnel. Volunteers made up a large part of those assigned, and no one was considered for such an assignment unless highly qualified. Although the air role expanded in concert with the overall effort, Air Force fatalities remained infrequent enough to merit individual listings by name in the Headquarters USAF Daily Staff Digest until September 1965.⁴

The Air Force commitment mushroomed over the next several years as part of a similar effort by the American military in general. Air Force strength in Southeast Asia soared to sixty-seven thousand in 1966, then to over ninety thousand in 1968. In mid-1969, at the numerical height of the U.S. presence, the Air Force had slightly more than ninety-five thousand people in Southeast Asia. Not included in these figures are perhaps twelve thousand others that supported the war directly but were stationed outside the Asian continent, mostly in the Philippines, on Guam, or on Okinawa, and an unknown number on temporary duty in the area. After 1969, the numbers declined steadily, although about seventy-eight hundred Air Force personnel remained in Vietnam and another thirty-six thousand in Thailand at the end of the American involvement in January 1973.⁵

From the beginning, a cornerstone of the Air Force's personnel policy was that no one would have to serve a second Southeast Asia tour involuntarily until all other similarly skilled personnel had served there. Combat crew members flying missions over North Vietnam had to be replaced after completing one hundred missions, a figure some attained in much less than the standard one-year tour. The service's commitment to man all units in SEA to 100 percent of authorization added the final piece to a manpower policy that required replacing over ten thousand officers each year.⁶

The Vietnam War and New Management Practices

Outside the active duty military, the most important military personnel policy was the policy governing the use of Reserve and National Guard forces. Aware of the difficulties encountered using Reserve forces during the limited war in Korea, the Johnson administration elected not to mobilize the nation's Reserve forces, a decision the Nixon administration followed after Richard M. Nixon became President in January 1969. Both administrations decreed that the active duty forces, backed by an expanded draft, would carry the load. The Air Force's recall of Reservists during the Vietnam War was tiny, only about 100 volunteers annually, but securing even those numbers proved tricky as the war intensified. In 1966, 2,197 Reservists, (767 pilots) received letters soliciting their return to active duty. Of these, 78 (7 pilots) accepted, 67 declined, and 2,052 did not respond.⁷

The single exception to the use of Reserve forces during the period occurred in early 1968 when about fifteen thousand members of the Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve were mobilized in reaction to the North Korean seizure of the American intelligence ship USS *Pueblo*. Four F-100 squadrons of the Air National Guard were assigned to Vietnam, replacing F-4 units sent to Korea. In ten months, from June 1968 to May 1969, Guardsmen flew over twenty-four thousand sorties in South Vietnam, losing fourteen aircraft and seven crew members to enemy action. However, nearly all Reserve and Guard units had been deactivated by the middle of 1969.⁸

Throughout the period, the demands of war strained the ability of the service to live within the parameters that governed manpower allocations. Enlisted personnel began to involuntarily serve second Southeast Asia tours by 1968, although not in combat roles. No officer suffered that misfortune, but had the war lasted much into 1973, some officers, mainly pilots, would likely have returned for a second time.^{*9} However, expanded procurement and training, aided by a variety of personnel initiatives pressed into service to meet manpower needs, prevented involuntary second tours for officers.

Tightening the Manpower Belt

Although the Vietnam War demanded all the skills of the officer corps, the most difficult challenge involved rated officers, specifically pilots. Even without the extra demands of Vietnam, the service faced a pilot shortage due to the low training rates in the late 1950s and early 1960s and the retirement of large numbers of pilots trained during World War II. The impending shortage intensified in 1965 when unexpected numbers of younger pilots, those with four to

* Some crew members assigned to the Strategic Air Command served second involuntary tours of less than six months, but no officer served a second one-year tour involuntarily.

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fourteen years service, began to leave the service. The war surely added to the exodus, but most wished to take advantage of lucrative opportunities in the civilian economy. In the 1960s, civil aviation expanded enormously, as did the hiring of pilots to fly the ever-increasing number of aircraft. The airlines, offering financial compensation the military could not hope to match, actively sought military pilots. By 1967, over fourteen hundred pilots, including almost nine hundred Regular officers, left the Air Force annually, about 75 percent to join an airline. Through at least 1970, the number of pilots separating from service continued at about the same rate. When combined with the still considerable number of World War II officers retiring, the service lost over four thousand pilots each year to all causes and, given the prevailing training rates, could replace only about half that number.¹⁰

The immediate Air Force reaction was a series of initiatives loosely grouped under the heading of the "stop-loss" program. Until the war escalated in mid-1965, officers were allowed to separate early to meet the lower manpower ceilings of a modest force reduction in progress since early 1964. The early out policy ended in the fall of 1965, and officers began serving their full active duty commitments. At the same time, the service began extending involuntarily the service of officers past the date when they would have otherwise separated. These extensions led, in February 1966, to a decision by the office of the Secretary of Defense and a setback. Speaking for the Defense Department, Cyrus R. Vance, the Deputy Secretary, denied the military services the unlimited authority to reject requests for retirement, resignation, or separation. The individual service secretary could turn down such requests, but only after weighing carefully the qualifications of the member against the needs of his department and identifying an overriding military necessity for the member's services which could not otherwise be met.¹¹

Using that guidance, the Air Force in 1966 denied separation to 300 (of almost 1,300) Reserve officers, disapproved the resignations of 270 (of 2,315) Regular officers, and denied voluntary retirement to 95 officers (of 3,677). These, and similar initiatives by the other services, drew complaints and threats of legal action from the affected officers and criticism from Congress. Even legislators usually supportive of the military, such as L. Mendel Rivers (D-South Carolina), were skeptical that Reserve officers could legally be retained involuntarily in the absence of a state of emergency. In January 1967, Deputy Secretary Vance yielded to the pressure by prohibiting the involuntary retention of Reserve officers who had fulfilled their military obligations.¹²

Although he closed the door on involuntary service by Reserve officers, Deputy Secretary Vance had left that same door ajar with regard to Regular officers. In a carefully worded legal opinion drafted in May 1966, Vance ruled that the status of Regular officers differed from that of Reservists. Except in time of war or during a state of emergency, Reserve officers served in a *contractual* status that obligated them to active duty in return for their

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Cyrus R. Vance,
Deputy Secretary of Defense,
1964–1967.



commissions and whatever training they received. At the end of the obligated service, the contract could be terminated by either party or continued by mutual consent for a further period of time. Conversely, the service of Regular officers had a *statutory* basis, the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, which contained no guarantees that resignations or retirement requests would be accepted. Acceptance or rejection of such requests rested with the President. That position was strengthened, the argument continued, by the absence of any effort on the part of the President, Congress, or the defense establishment to provide Regular officers with such guarantees.¹³

There were, however, parameters that the Defense Department felt must be observed in view of the limited nature of the Vietnam War and the absence of a state of emergency. The statutory basis of Regular officers did not give the military services *carte blanche* to retain such officers involuntarily or for an indefinite period. Involuntary retention had to be on a case-by-case basis and only when the skills of the individual were critically needed. Further, the denial of resignations and retirements was only an interim measure that would terminate as soon as the services developed the means of getting critically needed skills from other sources, presumably a reference to expanded procurement and training programs.¹⁴

The Air Force followed the example of the Army and Navy, already involuntarily extending Regular officers for 18 and 12 months, respectively, in exploiting the parameters laid down by Secretary Vance. In May 1967, Lt. Gen. Horace M. Wade, Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, approved the Selective Retention of Regular Officers program. All resignation and retirement requests by Regular officers came under review for an involuntary extension of one year. Only fifteen hundred officers could be retained each year, including about twelve hundred rated, the overwhelming majority pilots. Between 1967 and 1969, pilots trying to resign Regular commissions were virtually assured of an additional year of active duty.¹⁵

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The other portions of the stop-loss program used only voluntary methods that mixed new initiatives with those already in effect. The largest of the voluntary programs was a continuation of the Active Service Career for Reserve Officers (ASCRO) program. Implemented in 1963, the ASCRO program offered about 20 percent of the eligible Reserve officers the chance to serve beyond the twenty-year point when most faced mandatory retirement. Originally, the ASCRO program was to compensate for a lack of senior Regular officers, but the demands of Vietnam gave it a whole new meaning. ASCRO could free younger men for combat by providing older men for staff jobs and for flying less demanding aircraft and missions.

In March 1966, *all* Reserve officers, except those unfit for further duty, reaching twenty years of service in fiscal year 1967 got the opportunity to serve voluntarily an additional year on active duty. As the need for manpower intensified in 1967, that offer became voluntary service for as long as the Secretary of the Air Force determined that the Southeast Asia mission required their services. Service would be for a minimum of one year, and at least six months notice would proceed termination of the ASCRO program. The offer was sweetened by making those who accepted eligible for promotion until ninety days before separation. About fifty-five hundred Reserve officers scheduled to retire in fiscal years 1967 and 1968 received the offer and over twenty-three hundred accepted.¹⁶

Another program given a new charter by the war was the Continued Captains program. When established in 1963, this program provided four-year active duty contracts to selected Reserve captains who had twice failed promotion to temporary major, negating the requirement under the up-or-out system that they be separated from active duty. The additional four years would carry the captains selected into their eighteenth year after which, by law, they had to be retained on active duty until retirement, just as promotion to major would have done. The officers selected for continuation were those most likely to have been promoted had not ceilings on the number of field-grade officers prevented adequate selection opportunities.

When Congress did pass legislation granting sufficient grade relief to provide acceptable promotion opportunities to major (PL 89-606, September 1966) the Continued Captains program would have been terminated had not Vietnam dictated otherwise. In November 1966, the Chief of Staff, Gen. John McConnell, extended the Continued Captains program with criteria identical to ASCRO: for so long as the Vietnam War required it, but with a guarantee of only one additional year rather than four. Selection boards would make their choices using a fully qualified standard, which guaranteed a handsome election opportunity. The following month, 827 Reserve captains who had twice missed temporary promotion to major were screened, with 751 (91 percent) selected for continuation. Among rated officers, 551 were considered and 526 (95 percent) selected.¹⁷

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Digging further, the Air Force, in May 1967, shortly after denying such a plan was even under consideration, authorized the continuation of *Regular* captains who twice failed selection to *permanent* major. There was, however, a complication in continuing Regular officers. Reservists served on active duty at the discretion of the service secretary, and continuing those twice deferred from promotion was, likewise, at his pleasure. Conversely, the provisions of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 required that officers twice denied promotion to permanent major had to be dismissed. To meet the letter of the law, officers continued on active duty were required to resign their Regular commissions and accept temporary (not Reserve) billets. In April 1968, the first, and only, continuation board for twice-deferred Regular captains selected seventy-eight of eighty-three (94 percent) for continuation, and fifty-eight (75 percent) accepted.¹⁸

Officials were not particularly pleased with the response to the voluntary portions of the stop-loss program, but that displeasure surely stemmed from inflated expectations rather than the response. About 42 percent of the Reservists offered additional time under the ASCRO program accepted service beyond twenty years, but few stayed beyond an additional year or two. Already eligible for retirement, they had little reason to stay longer. Self-interest was equally clear among the continued captains. So long as there were tenure guarantees and no war, the acceptance was good, but it declined after 1965 when the ground rules and the intent of the program changed. Pilots, with the skill most in demand and the most vulnerable for assignments to Southeast Asia, offer the best example of this self-interest. In 1964, with no war and a guarantee of four more years of active duty, 244 of 296 pilots (82 percent) were offered continuation and 239 (98 percent) accepted. In 1966, with a war and no tenure guarantee, 355 of 369 (96 percent) got the offer, but only 209 (59 percent) accepted. In fiscal year 1968, the program's last year, pilot acceptance dropped to 46 percent.¹⁹

Outside the stop-loss program, other initiatives were taken to better manage the existing force and support SEA operations. Again, the emphasis centered on rated officers, specifically pilots. The most successful initiative began in March 1964 when seventeen hundred pilots were ordered out of nonrated duties and back into the cockpit.²⁰ This first contingent was to meet shortfalls projected even before Vietnam due to the retirement of pilots commissioned during World War II. All seventeen hundred returned to rated duties by mid-1965, just in time to answer the initial manpower surge as American involvement in Vietnam escalated sharply.

Other screening boards for pilots returned as many as 75 percent of officers screened to rated duties. In 1966, the cockpit recall expanded to include pilots with over fifteen years service previously excused from flying. A year later, pilots over forty-five years old in excusal status because of their age began returning to rated duties. The cockpit recall program and the retirement of older

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officers reduced the number of pilots in nonrated duties from about fifteen thousand in 1965 to perhaps five thousand in 1967. Careful pruning lowered that figure to about twenty-seven hundred in 1969, leaving only those near retirement, officers too long out of rated service, and those whose managerial skill were judged essential. Only about three hundred navigators went back to flying during the same period, but their recall did not begin in earnest until 1968.²¹

Both professional military and academic education programs felt the manpower pinch. The size of the Air War College class dropped from 281 in 1966 to 146 in 1967, with only 67 Air Force officers; the remainder came from other military services and various government agencies. The enrollment in the Air Command and Staff College for that year plunged from 600 to 271 (160 Air Force) and attendance at the Squadron Officers School (SOS) was cut in half. Moreover, the smaller classes contained a reduced proportion of rated officers. In 1964, 71 percent of the SOS students were rated; in 1968, only 27 percent of the much smaller student body had wings. The student body of the Air Force Institute of Technology had less than 10 percent pilots by 1967, although the program continued to offer academic education to roughly the same number as it had before the war.²²

A third major manpower initiative increased the numbers of officers available through changes in assignment policies and by reducing the manning of units outside Southeast Asia. By 1966, personnel in other overseas assignments could be sent to Southeast Asia if stateside replacements were not available. Pilots in particular were progressively hemmed in by policies that cut heavily into tour lengths. Many were denied routine reassignments and frozen in their present jobs to await orders to Southeast Asia. By 1968, pilots without combat tours were considered eligible for such duty after a year in their present assignment.²³

Reduced manning meant that units outside Southeast Asia were short-handed. By late 1966, the average flying unit had fallen to 92 percent of authorized rated manning, a figure that declined to about 84 percent by mid-1969. The Strategic Air Command was the least affected as its rated manning never fell below 95 percent, but only after reducing the crew to aircraft ratio from 1.8:1 to 1.5:1, accelerating the retirement of older B-52s to free additional personnel, and trimming staff billets. United States Air Forces, Europe, was hard pressed to maintain a ratio of one crew per aircraft. The Air Training Command kept manning at 90 percent, but rising pilot training quotas forced an increase in the student to instructor ratio, a six-day week, and an increase in the maximum allowable flying time for instructor pilots. By 1967, ATC instructor pilots routinely worked over seventy hours a week.²⁴

The most adversely affected commands, Tactical Air Command (TAC) and Air Defense Command (ADC), hobbled along at only 78 percent of their authorized strength. TAC went to a six-day week, canceled some training, and

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reduced its support of other commands. Manning became so critical in the ADC that Air National Guard pilots in units with an air defense mission were offered four-month active duty tours to perform similar duties. Called Palace Alert, the program proved successful, with, beginning in 1968, as many as one hundred Guardsmen standing alert at bases in Europe, Alaska, and the Pacific.²⁵

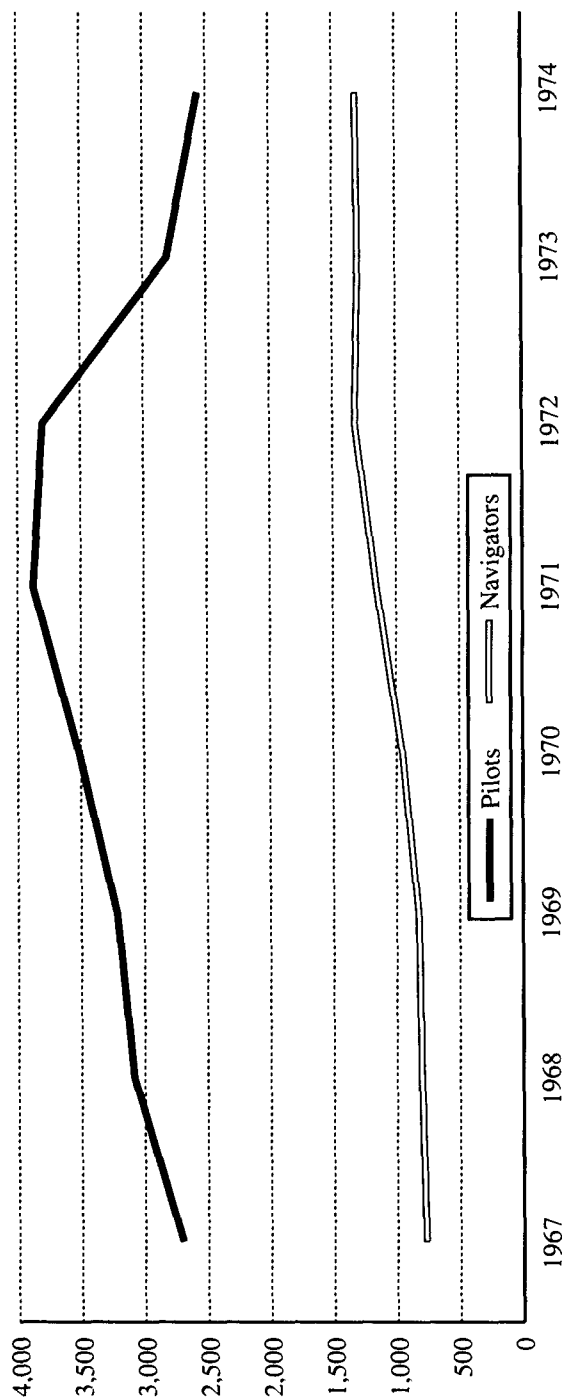
The last major source of pilots came from the Undergraduate Pilot Training (UPT) program. After "bottoming out" in 1962, pilot training rose steadily, if unevenly, for the remainder of the decade. The changes in training made in the first half of the decade, increased use of flight simulators, and pilot training initiated at two additional bases (Randolph AFB, Texas, in 1967, and Columbus AFB, Mississippi, in 1969) raised the training potential to over 4,000 pilots per year. Pilot training peaked in fiscal year 1971 when 3,877 earned their wings (figure 9).²⁶

The increased pilot production offered a partial solution to the drain caused by the large numbers of pilots in some sort of training. These pilots, in "pipeline status," could not be used until their training for their next assignments was over. At any one time, almost forty-five hundred pilots were in the pipeline, including about thirty-five hundred in crew training. Most of those in crew training were destined for Southeast Asia, but too many were replacements for other commands. For example, a C-130 pilot training for a Southeast Asia assignment in the C-7 needed someone trained to replace him in the C-130. To get away from two-for-one training, the service increasingly assigned pilots just graduated from UPT to training for Southeast Asia, thereby obviating the need to replace them in other commands and saving training billets. By 1969, over 75 percent of all UPT graduates went directly into crew training in preparation for Southeast Asia. This, plus aligning the start of crew training classes with UPT graduation, reduced the number of pilots in the pipeline at any one time by at least five hundred and possibly by as many as fifteen hundred.²⁷

The other reason for tapping UPT graduates for war duty was to alleviate a serious age distribution problem. The optimum distribution had half the pilots under and half over the age of thirty, providing sufficient older officers with the experience necessary for staff, supervisory, and command positions. This distribution also furnished sufficient younger pilots to carry the bulk of the flying load in high-performance aircraft, where stamina and reflexes could mean the difference between success and failure or life and death. Unfortunately, the pilot force was, in military terms, rather elderly, for reasons dating back a generation.

The Army Air Forces fought World War II with pilots barely out of their teens, if that. Many opted for a military career, and by 1963 perhaps half the pilots were over forty, with a sizable number between thirty and forty. Even in early 1967, after many of the World War II generation had retired, only 20 percent of the pilots were under thirty, while nearly 40 percent were over forty. Although not technically a contributor to the pilot shortage, the pilots over forty—known at the time as the "flying grandfathers"—presented assignment

Figure 9
Flight Training
 Fiscal Years 1967-1974



Sources: see appendix 3, Flight Training, Fiscal Years 1954-1974.

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difficulties since many were unfit for duties in some aircraft. Sending UPT graduates directly to Southeast Asia did provide younger men, but the numbers fell short of the demand. In December 1966, 480 of these flying grandfathers held Southeast Asia cockpit billets, including 152 in high-performance aircraft. The age problem diminished as time passed and more older officers retired, but the optimum distribution of half the pilot force below age thirty came only in about 1974, after the end of American involvement in Vietnam.²⁸

Another operational demand on pilots began in about 1965 with the growing inventory of F-4 and F-111 fighter-bombers. Unlike the F-105s and F-100s they replaced, the newer aircraft required two crew members instead of one. Because both positions had the basic flight controls (rudder pedals, control stick, and throttle), both were initially manned by pilots. That policy soon ran into trouble because the second crew members in both aircraft functioned as weapons systems operators and quickly became frustrated at the limited opportunities to function as pilots. Some were quite vocal about their frustration. The problem was particularly acute in the F-4 where no program existed to transition "back seaters" into the other position. In 1966, a test program involving the reconnaissance version of the F-4 showed that navigators could perform the back seat functions and were much happier in those duties than pilots. The success of the test led to the conversion of one pilot position in all F-4s and F-111s to a navigator billet. Completed in mid-1972, the conversion freed about two thousand pilots for duties elsewhere and freed the service from having to develop a program to transition pilots into the front seat.²⁹

Loosening the Manpower Belt

By 1968, the American forces in Vietnam had most of the responsibility for the war. Early in that year, however, the Communist forces launched the Tet offensive, a series of attacks across South Vietnam that succeeded in capturing a number of district and provincial capitals. Although the attackers failed to hold any of these gains, the size and fury of Tet demonstrated the tenacity of the Communist forces, shocked the American public sufficiently to erode support for the war, and forced the Johnson administration to end the escalation of the conflict. Congress seized the opportunity to reduce the fiscal year 1969 military budget, foreshadowing a trend that would continue for a decade. The downturn in Vietnam and the accompanying social unrest at home contributed to the election, in November, of Richard Nixon to the presidency and the adoption of "Vietnamization," the incremental assumption by the South Vietnamese of the full conduct of the war. The U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam was underway.

The changes did not reduce the Air Force's presence in Southeast Asia as much as it did the other services, since air power would shield South Vietnam until its military forces could assume the war's burden. Still, overall manpower

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strength came under immediate downward pressures, a reduction that lowered the Air Force officer corps significantly over the next few years. The first increment of that reduction required the service to cut over four thousand officers by mid-1969.

The initial cuts were made by reducing the procurement quota of the Officer Training School by about nineteen hundred, leaving just over twenty-two hundred to be separated by other means. The continuation of captains (both Reserve and Regular) twice deferred promotion to major ended, and the four hundred that failed to be promoted for the second time were separated in fiscal year 1969. Regular officers were no longer involuntarily extended for a year beyond their normal separation or retirement date, and officers currently in involuntary service were allowed to request earlier release. These actions reduced the inventory by an additional five hundred officers. Finally, Reservists scheduled to separate in the first half of fiscal year 1970 were allowed to leave voluntarily in the last half of fiscal year 1969. The early out attracted sufficient numbers to preclude the use of involuntary means to meet the reduced ceiling.³⁰

The fiscal year 1970 defense budget trimmed another five thousand officer billets from the Air Force's manning documents. Again, procurement was cut, and OTS rejected all civilian applicants who did not qualify for flight training. Despite earlier assurances, the ASCRO program ended and about two thousand Reserve officers serving beyond twenty years were retired. Another early out program allowed some thirteen hundred nonrated Reserve officers scheduled for separation in the first half of fiscal year 1971 to exit in the last few months of fiscal year 1970.³¹

Still short of its goal, the Air Force turned to the twice-deferred captains continued on active duty before that program ended, a group the service had carefully avoided. The officers selected for continuation during the first three years of the program (1963–1965) had received contracts sufficient to take most of them into the sanctuary zone (over eighteen years of service) that guaranteed retention until retirement at twenty years. Those selected in the last few years of the program (1966–1968) had no guaranteed contract beyond one year, but most accepting the offer probably believed that the war would last long enough for them to reach sanctuary. The announcement that all continued captains with less than eighteen years of service would be eliminated brought a hail of protests, as well as some lawsuits. Groups supportive of Reservists filed formal protests on their behalf. Nevertheless, James P. Goode, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, ruled in favor of the termination order, and about nine hundred continued officers were separated before the end of fiscal year 1970. Another three to four hundred in the sanctuary zone remained until retirement.³²

During the next three fiscal years, officer strength ceilings moved still lower, but with sufficient warning for the service to meet the challenge with voluntary programs. In fiscal year 1971, the criteria for hardship discharges

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were liberalized, otherwise, decreased procurement and early outs handled the reductions. If an early out program failed to attract the numbers needed, its eligibility was simply expanded until it did. At the end of fiscal year 1973, the Air Force had about 114,000 officers, down from a high of 138,000 in fiscal year 1968. With the exception of those continued captains separated before they reached the sanctuary zone, no involuntary methods had been used in the reductions.³³

With the easing of rated manpower demands, the overall manning for pilots in units outside Southeast Asia increased from a low of 82 percent of authorization in early 1969 to almost 90 percent by the following year. Professional military education began to recover in 1970 when the Air War College and the Air Command and Staff College showed their first increases in enrollment in over three years. By academic year 1972-73, both schools had just about returned to their pre-1967 levels. The junior school, the Squadron Officers School, took longer, since its students were young officers, the very group most vulnerable for Southeast Asia duty or a cockpit assignment elsewhere. The Squadron Officers School did not return to full enrollment until the mid-1970s, after the termination of American involvement in Vietnam. Similarly, more pilots began to pursue advanced academic degrees via the Air Force Institute of Technology in 1970, the first increase since the imposition of an annual ceiling of 129 in 1967.³⁴

The Pilot Shortage: How Real?

Throughout a four-year period beginning in 1966, the Air Force struggled to find enough pilots to fulfill its mission. In 1967, the first year of severe shortages, the pilot deficit was placed variously at between fifty-five hundred and ninety-five hundred. By mid-1970, the management changes, increased pilot training, and lower Southeast Asia requirements had trimmed the figure to about nineteen hundred. Yet the question of "how real" remained valid because the two sides remained far apart on the magnitude of the shortage and, furthermore, the Air Force, by 1970, had greatly reduced its own estimate of the pilot shortage, despite having four thousand *fewer* pilots than in 1967. (See appendix 1, United States Air Force Line Officers by Rating, 1939-1970, for a year-by-year officer total.)³⁵

To a large degree, the question of a pilot shortage pitted one management philosophy against another. On the one hand, the Air Force argued for three groups of pilots: those necessary to man all cockpit, supervisory, and training billets; those in multiservice commands and professional military education; and a surplus in nonrated duties, but available to meet surge requirements in time of emergency. In 1967, the Air Force's logic and mathematics added up to a shortage of, to select a median figure, about fifty-seven hundred.

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The logic and mathematics of the opposing philosophy, favored by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, were much different. Aggressive and self-confident, McNamara reserved for himself many decisions previously made by the military, and did so in a manner that bruised the feelings of many senior officers. A businessman trained in statistics and management analysis, he was skeptical about some of the ways that the military arrived at decisions involving manpower and money. In the first half of the 1960s, McNamara dealt the Air Force a series of sharp blows in restructuring the military away from overwhelming reliance on nuclear weapons and manned bombers. He ended the production run of the B-52, canceled the Sky Bolt air-launched ballistic missile, accelerated the phaseout of the B-47s, and terminated the B-70 program in prototype stage. Policy decisions such as these led to repeated and bitter clashes with Gen. Curtis LeMay, the Air Force Chief of Staff.³⁶

McNamara's most famous, and controversial, decision involved the F-111, also known as the TFX fighter. The F-111 was to be built in both Navy and Air Force versions, and would have an 80-percent commonality of parts between the two models.* Although neither service was that interested in the aircraft, McNamara pushed ahead. In fact, he overruled the military, which overwhelmingly favored the Boeing Aircraft Corporation's design, and awarded the contract to the General Dynamics Corporation. The Defense Secretary was suspicious of the advanced technology used in the Boeing design that might have proved unexpectedly difficult, even impossible, to master, resulting in delayed production or even a failed design. Moreover, he believed that the cost estimates of the Boeing design were unrealistically low. In his opinion, General Dynamics could produce a satisfactory plane sooner and for less money.³⁷

In addressing the need for pilots, McNamara also approached the issue from a different angle. He supported the same basic categories as the Air Force: core, support of multiservice commands, professional education, and surge. He also acknowledged the need for reasonable workloads on all personnel, adequate opportunities for career development, and no unreasonably long periods of family separation. Nevertheless, having said that, the Defense Secretary's mathematics conflicted sharply with those of the Air Force. Basically, McNamara doubted that the Air Force, with about fourteen thousand aircraft and over forty-four thousand pilots, truly had a pilot shortage. He never agreed with the number of pilot training billets the Air Force requested, always approving a lesser number. The service's goal in the early 1960s had been three thousand new pilots per year by 1966, but it did not achieve that figure until 1968, and only after the war in Southeast Asia forced interim increases to the planned figures.

* Only the Air Force version of the F-111 ever saw serial production. The Navy version, the F-111B, was canceled while still in prototype development when it failed to meet the basic requirements for carrier operations.

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On the point of greatest disagreement, McNamara questioned the use of pilots in nonrated billets. The number of officers in such positions should only be those necessary for the surge requirement. He saw no reason for pilots in nonrated billets solely for career broadening, which, he believed, reflected practices outdated in an era of specialization and resulted in a gross distortion of legitimate requirements. By his mathematics, the Air Force did not have a deficit of fifty-seven hundred pilots, it actually enjoyed a small surplus. A rebuttal by Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown that pilots, the traditional leaders of the service, needed career broadening experience did not move him.³⁸ Table 15 illustrates the differences between McNamara and the Air Force.

Table 15

Two Views on Pilot Requirements 1967

	<u>McNamara</u>	<u>Air Force</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Core/Cockpit	22,349	22,349	0
Surge/Career Broadening	3,971	8,585	4,614
Professional Education	600	1,730	1,130
Supervisory/Staff	10,083	10,680	597
Non-Air Force Agencies	<u>1,098</u>	<u>1,098</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	38,102	44,442	6,341

Source: Air Staff board meeting 67-34, subject: Pilot Requirements Study, Jun. 9, 1967, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1967 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

Evidence supported the McNamara approach, particularly before 1967. Without a doubt, the Air Force had many more pilots than it needed and, willfully or otherwise, inflated its requirements to justify their presence. In 1964, almost fifteen thousand pilots, over a third of the force, served in nonrated billets, including about nine thousand drawing flight pay, but excused from meeting flying requirements. Yet the service acknowledged a surplus of only one thousand and clamored for increased pilot training to meet shortages anticipated in mid-1966. However, internal documents circulated within the Air Staff during the Vietnam war acknowledged that the main problem was not the number of pilots, but how they were used.³⁹

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McNamara put an end to this practice by either making, or forcing the Air Force to make, a number of tough management decisions. The flight training reforms of the early 1960s designed to increase pilot production without a corresponding increase in funding were spurred on by the Defense Secretary's refusal to fund training to the levels requested. After the larger involvement in Vietnam began, pressure from McNamara may well have lowered the number of pilots in nonrated billets to twenty-seven hundred. Fragmentary data suggested that the service wished to hold the line at perhaps eighty-four hundred. Skeptical that F-4s and F-111s needed two pilots, he ordered the Air Force to study converting one position to a navigator's billet. Impatient with the time required and trusting his own judgment, McNamara ordered the conversion to begin pending the outcome of the study.⁴⁰

In that light, the ability of the Air Force to reduce its estimate of the pilot shortage between 1967 and 1970, even as the number of pilots decreased, supported McNamara's basic position that the service had sufficient pilots, if correctly managed. Testifying before Congress, Gen. Gabriel P. Disosway, the TAC commander, and Gen. Bruce K. Holloway, the Vice Chief of Staff, cited difficulties in meeting requirements and voiced concern should another military emergency further increase the need for manpower, but both stopped short of identifying a pilot shortage.⁴¹ Similarly, the increased number of pilots sent to AFIT and professional schools beginning in 1970 and the recovery of those programs even before the end of American involvement in Vietnam pointed to, at most, a small deficit.

On the other hand, senior officers were not free to express their own opinions even when questioned by Congress. They had to use care in public statements because McNamara demanded unswerving loyalty from subordinates. The Secretary's office routinely provided "suggested answers" to potentially embarrassing questions, including denials of a pilot shortage, to Defense Department witnesses before Congress. The penalty for deviating from the official position could be quite severe, as Maj. Gen. Jerry Page discovered. In March 1967, General Page was "removed without prejudice" as Commandant of the Air War College after he spoke of a munitions shortage in Vietnam, another problem McNamara denied existed despite widespread reporting by the media.⁴²

What ultimately emerged from the welter of claims, counterclaims, and contradictory statistics was a pilot shortage, one that extended from some time in 1967 to sometime in 1970. The specter of six-day duty weeks, severely reduced rated manning outside Southeast Asia, pilots flying more often than thought safe, canceled training, and units unable to maintain minimum crew-to-aircraft ratios allowed no other conclusion. Privately, McNamara acknowledged these conditions, but found them acceptable although they contradicted his earlier assurances of a reasonable workweek and career development opportunity for all personnel. Publicly, he repeated denials of shortages and avoided

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addressing these conditions by limiting the argument to flying. So long as flying requirements were being met, he had sufficient grounds to maintain his position although critics accused him, accurately, of using semantics and sleight-of-hand statistics to explain away the problem.⁴³

McNamara's denials and cleverly worded responses were to hold the line against increases, and thereby hold down the cost of the war, until improved management and increased training returned manning to acceptable levels. He was ultimately successful in that, although the war's length and increasing unpopularity progressively forced him on the defensive and into the redoubt of harsh language. He stubbornly argued, in statements made just before he left office in 1968, that nothing was wrong with using pilots on an involuntary second combat assignment provided they had a two-year break between the tours.⁴⁴ Fortunately, neither McNamara nor his successors had to contend with the ramifications of that statement.

Public acknowledgement of a pilot shortage by a member of the defense establishment did not come until almost two years after McNamara had resigned as Defense Secretary. Testifying before Congress in December 1969, Robert C. Seamans, Jr., who followed Harold Brown as Secretary of the Air Force, placed the pilot deficit at about five thousand. That statement, however, was not taken as the final word because it placed the shortages mostly in nonrated billets. Indeed, Secretary Seamans only validated the point made earlier that, even after acknowledging a deficit, the extent of the shortage was biased by how one viewed the need for pilots outside strictly pilot billets. Stated another way, the issue revolved around whether pilots, the pool from which most of the service's leadership sprang, should be managed narrowly toward filling flying requirements as McNamara favored or should also be managed to develop leaders with broader, more generalist, career patterns as the Air Force wished. In 1970, the Defense Department and the Air Force were still far apart on that question, and adding Congressional interest in a host of issues affecting rated officers (numbers, excusal programs, proficiency flying) only highlighted an area where powerful forces had by no means reached agreement.⁴⁵

OTS Comes of Age

Whatever the management improvements adopted during the Vietnam War, the main source of officer manpower remained the three procurement programs: the Air Force Academy, the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps, and the Officer Training School. Table 16 contains the production figures for those programs during 1967–1972. The big difference between these figures and the figures for the earlier years of the decade was the sharp increase necessary to support a war and to enlarge the size of the officer corps. Procurement averaged about 7,900 annually between fiscal year 1960 and fiscal year 1966, but rose to

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over 10,600 over the next six years. Indeed, the number of new officers jumped from 7,836 in fiscal year 1966 to 13,701 a year later, as the service reversed several years of declining procurement and finally began to respond to the widening conflict in Vietnam. The Air Force Academy produced relatively few new officers, and the four years it required to produce a second lieutenant made it unresponsive to the increased demands. The AFROTC was equally unresponsive for the same reason and was beset with problems that sapped much of its vitality and potential. That left OTS, the sole responsive program, to shoulder the load.

Table 16

Officer Procurement Sources Fiscal Years 1967-1972

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972*</u>
USAFAT†	510	624	691	767	700	700
AFROTC	5,454	4,992	4,114	4,403	4,316	4,100
OTS	<u>7,737</u>	<u>6,512</u>	<u>4,760</u>	<u>5,331</u>	<u>4,046</u>	<u>3,938</u>
Total	13,701	12,128	9,565	10,501	9,062	8,738

* Estimated.

† The USAFA figures in most years contain a very small number of West Point and Annapolis graduates.

Sources: Daily Staff Digest, Jun. 15, 1967, item I; report, Special Committee on ROTC to the Secretary of Defense, Sep. 22, 1969, p. 15, AU Education Office file ED 93; talking paper, subject: Officer Procurement, Oct. 27, 1971, ACC 86-155, box 8, 94-3 (1971) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

In fiscal year 1966, OTS produced only 2,562 new officers. Initial planning for fiscal year 1967 suggested only a modest increase to just over 3,000, but that changed quickly as OTS began the most difficult year in its brief history. In January 1966, the fiscal year 1967 quota rose to over 4,100, only to be followed in quick succession by further increases that drove the total to almost 7,800 by July. The Air Training Command quickly raised the number of OTS classes from eight to ten annually, greatly increased the size of each class, initiated a workweek of five and one-half days, and trimmed the program from sixty to fifty-four days. The school returned to a "split campus" condition with most of

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the trainees housed at the Lackland Annex (formerly Medina) and the remainder on Lackland proper.⁴⁶

In early September 1966, Maj. Gen. Leo F. Dusard, Air Staff Director of Personnel Training and Education, warned ATC that his staff was working on plans to possibly increase the fiscal year 1967 OTS quota to almost ninety-five hundred to redress a shortage of over two thousand officers caused by the low procurement of the past few years and the demands of the war. He noted that some thought had been given to closing the Squadron Officers School, the junior professional military education school located at Maxwell AFB, Alabama, for six months and placing the unused facilities and instructors at the disposal of OTS. General Dusard asked whether the increase could be accommodated at Lackland or whether the "SOS route" was better. Working under great pressure, he asked for an informal response within twenty-four hours.⁴⁷

The response was furnished by Brig. Gen. Frank P. Wood, Commander of the Lackland Military Training Center. OTS, he argued, did not need idle SOS facilities and instructors. Reluctant to fragment the program beyond its current "two campus" condition, General Wood recommended that the increased production be accomplished at Lackland by moving some enlisted basic trainees to Amarillo AFB, Texas, to free facilities and by assigning sixty additional OTS instructors, over and above the fifty-one new instructors previously requested in response to the increased quota for fiscal year 1967. ATC headquarters endorsed General Wood's response, but also dispatched a team to study the SOS facilities should a formal ATC position be requested.⁴⁸

The whole exercise came to naught, however, as neither the projection of 9,500 graduates in fiscal year 1967 nor estimates of over 11,000 in fiscal year 1968 materialized. The 7,737 OTS graduates in fiscal year 1967 became the highest of any procurement program during the Vietnam War. The strict manpower ceilings maintained by the Defense Department, the stop-loss actions, better management of the existing force, and more realistic estimates of requirements made the lower production figures acceptable.

The production peak in fiscal year 1967 did not, however, translate into more tranquil times. The fate of OTS, already apparent before Vietnam, was to be battered by procurement fluctuations resulting from everything from the waxing and waning of manpower to fight the war to changes in retention. The OTS required seven months to begin to respond to quota changes, mostly consumed in finding applicants, selecting the best qualified from among them, and entering them into training. Selecting and training an instructor required about the same length of time. Unfortunately, quota changes occurred more frequently than that and resulted, as General Wood noted, in OTS being played like an accordion. Pleas made earlier in the decade to smooth out the peaks and valleys of procurement so the program could concentrate on quality did little good. Finally, in December 1966, the Air Staff warned that these were unsettled times and suggested that ATC maintain the maximum flexibility in OTS.⁴⁹

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The Air Staff warning, blunt as it was, proved realistic. Over a fourteen-month period, the planned OTS quota for fiscal year 1968 varied from 11,300 to 5,500, before stabilizing at about 6,500 in November 1967. Capping the American effort in Vietnam reduced considerably the load on OTS, and fiscal year 1969 provided a bit of a breather as OTS production dropped to 4,760. The reduced load allowed the consolidation of all training at the Lackland Annex, ending the split campus condition that had been in effect since 1966.⁵⁰

Fiscal year 1970 marked the last year of volatility for OTS during the Vietnam War. The program began the fiscal year with a production quota of almost six thousand, forcing a return to the split campus. In August 1969, OTS halted the selection of civilian applicants for nonrated billets, limiting consideration for such positions to enlisted personnel seeking a commission. However, to avoid bad public relations, the program honored all previous commitments and a slight overproduction of nonrated officers resulted.⁵¹

Volatility aside, OTS did not encounter any unexpected problems during the Vietnam War. Draft calls ensured that more than enough young men sought Air Force commissions as an alternative to the Army. Indeed, the number of qualified applicants often exceeded the available training billets by 300 percent. Nonrated billets were the most sought after because of their shorter active duty commitment and lesser chance of seeing combat. In fiscal year 1968 alone, approximately 20,000 applications were received for 3,414 nonrated billets.⁵²

Some of those entering OTS had done so only to avoid conscription, had little interest in the military and, indeed, in finishing OTS. By late 1966, resignation numbers caused concern. Many of those resigning attributed their action to personal flaws, such as poor self-discipline or fear of responsibility. Others were more candid. One young man admitted he had no interest in the military and did not want it to be a part of his life for any longer than necessary. Another wanted to be a doctor, not an officer. Still another, on leave of absence from the DuPont Company, wished to return to his civilian job as soon as possible.⁵³

Whatever the reason, all benefited from a loophole that allowed those eliminated from OTS, regardless of the reason, to discharge their military obligations by spending two years as Air Force enlisted men instead of the four years required of all others enlistees. For many, that was a good trade since it avoided both the four-year obligation that came with an Air Force commission and service in the Army. Assessing the situation in December 1966, after twenty-four OTS students resigned in the first week of training, General Wood, the Lackland Commander, recommended that those eliminated serve four years as enlisted men to deter resignations. Headquarters ATC disagreed, reasoning that such poorly motivated individuals would likely make such poor officers that they should not be discouraged from resigning. Allowing them to serve abbreviated enlisted tours was preferable to awarding them commissions.⁵⁴

The second encounter with an excessive elimination rate came in 1969. In that year, widespread public protests against draft inequities, including a

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disproportionate burden on the less privileged and the extension of an individual's vulnerability to seven years, forced changes in selective service. Under the new system, the order of conscription was based on a lottery that assigned each individual's birthday a number. The lower the number, the greater the chance of being drafted. Except for the first cycle of the lottery system, vulnerability was limited to an individual's nineteenth year. The first cycle considered everyone under age twenty-six who had a deferment, meaning all college students and, therefore, all OTS trainees.

The new law became effective on December 1, 1969. As soon as the lottery results were published, resignations surged upward. Officials noted that most of those resigning had high lottery numbers and a correspondingly low chance of conscription. The elimination rate for the first two classes graduating in 1970 exceeded 20 percent. Only in March 1970, after individuals no longer entered OTS to escape the draft, did the rate begin to stabilize at approximately 13 percent, about the same as before the lottery.⁵⁵

Whatever the problems, OTS fulfilled its mission of furnishing officers and did so inexpensively and in response to shifting requirements. By 1973, OTS had produced over fifty-one thousand officers in its thirteen-year life and was firmly established as part of the overall procurement program. Increased recognition of its importance began in early 1967 when Lt. Gen. Sam Maddux, ATC Commander, ordered a study of ways to upgrade OTS facilities. The study recommended an expenditure of nine million dollars at the Lackland Annex for, among other things, four hundred tons of air conditioning capability, sixty thousand square feet of dining space, thirty-one thousand square feet of classrooms, a new swimming pool, and additional dormitory space for 430 students, increasing capacity to almost 2,000 trainees at any one time.⁵⁶

The Air Staff approved the construction, with changes. Noting that the ATC study had failed to include roads, sidewalks, and parking lots, the Air Staff added these features, but at the expense of the swimming pool. In 1969, money went into a closed circuit television system that linked all classrooms with a central film library. Completed in 1970, the new facilities permanently ended the split-campus condition that had plagued OTS off and on for years.⁵⁷

In 1971, ATC launched another enhancement effort for OTS, focusing on nonmaterial factors. Since OTS still operated as an appendage of the Lackland Training complex, ATC recommended that the OTS commander be a general officer, the prestige of the staff upgraded, and the school's position elevated. Again, the Air Staff agreed, raising OTS to wing level, making it a part of ATC headquarters, and approving titles for staff and faculty that corresponded to similar positions in the AFROTC and at the USAFA. In 1972, the commander's billet was upgraded by transferring the brigadier general position from Reese AFB, Texas, a pilot training base, and the school received the awkward, but presumably prestigious, name of School of Military Science, Officer. Common sense and tradition intervened, however, and OTS remained OTS.⁵⁸

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In addition to numbers, the other factor driving the OTS enhancement program was the change in the kind of officers produced. During its first six years, OTS produced everything from dietitians to pilots, but the bulk of the graduates went into nonrated duties. Only about 3,400 of 16,000 graduates entered flight training during the first half of the 1960s, including 1,525 who sought pilot wings. That changed abruptly in the middle of the decade when only OTS could respond to the rapidly rising pilot training rate. In fiscal year 1966, 1,082 OTS graduates entered pilot training, rising to 1,393 in fiscal year 1967, and to about 1,850 in fiscal year 1968. After 1969, the program focused almost entirely on rated officers, mostly pilots. OTS had become the prime source of pilots, the central skill of the Air Force.⁵⁹

The shift prompted a fresh look at the elimination rate of OTS graduates from pilot training, a problem that had plagued OTS pilot trainees for years and which stood at a dreadful 46 percent in the first half of the 1960s. Better screening of potential trainees cut the rate to 36 percent by 1966, but that was still substantially higher than graduates of the AFROTC (17 percent) and the Air Force Academy (12 percent). The relatively poor motivation of OTS graduates still contributed to the problem, just as in the past. In 1966, 25 percent of those resigning from pilot training were OTS graduates who had accepted flight training only to get into OTS and avoid the draft, an admission that infuriated some officials and led to demands for disciplinary action.⁶⁰

Beyond poor motivation lay another, and more sympathetic, reason for the poor showing of OTS graduates. Virtually all AFROTC graduates had flown light planes in the Flight Instruction Program (FIP) while still cadets. The FIP screened potential pilot trainees, eliminated those without the basic skills, and ensured that those actually admitted into training had at least a reasonable chance of earning their wings. Similarly, cadets at the Air Force Academy received some training both as pilots and as navigators, which accomplished the same screening. The small number of navigators entering pilot training had very low attrition (under 10 percent), the results of familiarity with flight and experience with aircraft. Unique among the commissioning programs, OTS graduates had received no prior training, which probably accounted for most of the problems they encountered. In fact, the attrition rate for OTS graduates about equaled that of other trainees who had not received any previous flight training (a small number of AFROTC graduates and nonrated officers accepted into pilot training.)⁶¹

In June 1967, the Air Staff asked ATC to study a number of proposals that might increase pilot production. The major proposals included establishing a flight training program for OTS, allowing all Air Force Academy and flight-trained AFROTC graduates to skip a portion of the primary phase of pilot training, and consolidating all primary training at Hondo Municipal Airport, about thirty miles west of the Lackland Annex. Already straining to meet increased OTS and pilot training quotas, ATC counseled against all three ideas.

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The additional expenditure of funds and disruption to training necessitated by the changes could not be accommodated.⁶²

The Air Staff accepted the argument, but in April 1968, asked ATC to consider giving a portion of primary training, involving perhaps fifteen hours of flying in the T-41, to OTS students. Again, the study centered on Hondo Airport, but, again, the response was negative. Including flight training, ATC argued, would lengthen OTS training by as much as a month and destroy much of the program's responsiveness. Hondo, a pilot training base in World War II, had five runways and 314,000 square yards of ramp space, but most of the buildings needed repairs and some would have to be replaced entirely. ATC recommended against any flight training for OTS in the near future and until less stressful times when facilities could be constructed and OTS's responsiveness was no longer so critical.⁶³

The ATC position prevailed, even after 1969, when OTS began to produce mostly rated officers, a production that continued for the remainder of the Vietnam War. During a four-year period that ended in mid-1972, about nine thousand OTS graduates entered pilot training. Attrition of these students remained high, as in previous years, accounting at one point for 81 percent of students eliminated in the primary phase of training. Not until fiscal year 1972, with reductions in pilot training and in OTS production, was ATC able to address the problem. The plan advanced by ATC mirrored the suggestions made by the Air Staff three years earlier. In the fall of 1971, two groups of FIP-trained graduates of the AFROTC and USAFA bypassed the T-41 portion of training and began pilot training in the T-37. The students in the test, conducted at Webb AFB, Texas, performed as well as those who had completed the regular curriculum that included primary training in the T-41.⁶⁴

In March 1972, ATC recommended bypassing T-41 training for trainees with FIP experience and entering them directly into the T-37 phase. A second recommendation suggested consolidating all T-41 training at Hondo in a Flight Screening Program supported by about seventy-three T-41s, fifty-three civilian flight instructors, fifty-five Air Force personnel, plus maintenance support provided by civilian contract agencies. While OTS was to be the main beneficiary, the small number of AFROTC graduates without FIP experience and nonrated officers and navigators selected for pilot training would also be screened. Both recommendations won immediate approval, and the Hondo Airport facility began operations in early 1973.⁶⁵

A Battered AFROTC

The relative success of OTS during the period of the Vietnam War was not matched by the AFROTC. The AFROTC problems, by and large, stemmed from the military sharing management with the host institutions and the often con-

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flicting interests of the two, conditions that had caused earlier problems. The latest example of that sometimes difficult relationship came in 1965 when the host institutions chose between the two-year and the four-year versions of the AFROTC. To give their students the maximum amount of flexibility in planning their college educations, approximately 85 percent (154 of 182) chose to offer both versions. Another eight schools opted for the four-year program and twenty for the two-year version. While those decisions may have been in the schools' best interests, they defied the military that had been lobbying the host institutions to adopt only the shorter, and less expensive, program.

The latest rebuff led the Air Force to revive disestablishment of AFROTC units that were not economically viable. First tried in the mid-1950s, it had been buried by a barrage of protest from the host institutions charging the service with breach of contract and bad faith. Now, a decade later, and still faced with a program whose expense might endanger its future, the Air Force revised the criteria that must be met if a college wished to retain its AFROTC detachment. This time, the Air Force attempted to hold schools to the criteria.

The revised criteria, announced by the Office of the Secretary of Defense in December 1965, were the number commissioned each year (a minimum of fifteen for schools with a four-year program or both a four-year and a two-year program and ten for schools with only a two-year program), quality (class standings and officer qualifying exam scores), cost per graduate, and retention. As in past efforts, the number commissioned formed the basis for judgment with the other criteria used to make the final decision on marginal units. That was understandable given the enormous variation in production (over one hundred annually at a large school in Texas, but only three at a small eastern college), the close relationship of production to costs, and, therefore, to the ultimate health of the AFROTC. In fact, the Air University, the major command responsible for AFROTC, argued unsuccessfully for limiting the criteria to production and costs, each with 50 percent weight.⁶⁶

By the middle of academic year 1966-67, the Air Staff Directorate of Personnel Training and Education had identified thirty-four units not meeting standards. Throughout the remainder of the academic year, AFROTC officials worked with the schools hosting the substandard units to improve production. Most of the effort went into getting the host schools to switch from four-year to two-year programs, which had lower production requirements. Other actions included a more aggressive cross-town policy, where students at institutions without AFROTC units could enroll in the program at nearby schools that did, and an effort to increase faculty support for the endangered units. The few institutions that still required freshmen and sophomores to take ROTC were pressured to drop the compulsory feature, a move that would eliminate the cost of supporting students who had no interest in a commission. The AFROTC staffs at all the weak units were urged to proselytize within the student body and the surrounding community as a way of increasing enrollment.⁶⁷

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Efforts to help troubled AFROTC detachments met with some success. Over the next two years, nine institutions dropped compulsory military training, reducing the number to twenty-one, and thirteen schools shifted to the two-year AFROTC, raising the total to thirty-three. During academic year 1967–68 the various initiatives taken to increase enrollment succeeded in cutting the number of substandard units in half. In accordance with procedures, the host institutions of seventeen units were notified that they would be on probation during academic year 1968–69. If they were still below standards at the end of the academic year, their units would be terminated as soon as all students currently in the program had graduated.⁶⁸

As it turned out, placing the seventeen schools on probation was the high-water mark of the Air Force's effort to make the AFROTC an efficient, economically viable program, at least for the duration of the Vietnam War. Larger events, fueled by growing oncampus hostility to the war, began to dominate events, and the fate of some AFROTC units began slipping from the service's hands.

Other than those in combat, the Air Force personnel probably most stressed by the upheavals of the Vietnam War were those staffing AFROTC units. Exposed on campuses—the centers of resistance to the war, to the draft, and to many other aspects of American life—ROTC units were made-to-order targets for protesters. Trouble for the AFROTC began in academic year 1967–68 when 45 (of 185) units reported some type of anti-ROTC activity. The activities involved accusations that ROTC trained students to kill and had no place on a college campus, used instructors and curricula of inferior quality, denied students academic freedom, and violated faculty hiring and course approval prerogatives. The service's reaction to the issues raised by the protestors, apparently revealing more annoyance than concern, was to send AFROTC detachment commanders what were vaguely termed "command subject letters" and to confer with "knowledgeable personnel on such developments."⁶⁹

That attitude changed sharply in academic year 1968–69 as the antiwar movement gained strength and words like "student revolt" crept into official correspondence. Even conservative students and faculty members began questioning AFROTC's course content and the quality of its instructors. Then, in November 1968, the Boston College faculty, following a year of oncampus agitation, voted to deny academic credit to ROTC courses after academic year 1971–72. The immediate Air Force reaction was to disestablish Boston College's AFROTC unit, but others counseled caution and, for the first time, changes were made throughout the program.⁷⁰

In December 1968, Theodore C. Marrs, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Reserve Affairs, sent a letter to the presidents of the 175 schools hosting AFROTC units soliciting advice on ways to improve the program. About a third of the 159 responding schools found the program adequate and suggested no changes. By and large, the remainder recommended changes ranging from better

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use of the regular faculty as lecturers or consultants to having the university assume total responsibility for the curriculum. About thirty schools believed that the academic credentials of AFROTC faculty members needed improvement. None suggested that AFROTC was incompatible with academia.⁷¹

Even before all the responses had been received, Lt. Gen. Albert P. Clark, the Air University Commander, began a modest reform movement. In January 1969, he ordered that, henceforth, no officer without an advanced academic degree be assigned to AFROTC duty. Given the three-year tour of such duty, by the end of academic year 1972-73, all AFROTC faculty members would meet the minimum requirements of regular university faculties. Less well publicized was the increased attention given to the Professor of Aerospace Studies (PAS), the senior officer at each AFROTC unit. Formerly a pleasant way to allow elderly colonels to transition into retirement, future PASs would be selected from among younger officers who still had a career ahead of them. As a last part of the reform package, General Clark offered host institutions the authority to substitute regular academic courses for related AFROTC subjects.⁷²

Whether too little, too late, or simply irrelevant, given the temper of the times, General Clark's initiative never had a chance. Even while it was being formulated, elements hostile to ROTC and to American policy in Southeast Asia increasingly dominated many college campuses. By the early spring of 1969, faculties at some of the host institutions were following the example of Boston College in demanding that no academic credit be given to ROTC courses and that ROTC instructors be stripped of academic rank. The prestigious schools of the Ivy League, traditional strongholds of liberalism, were heavily represented in the effort.⁷³

At Stanford University, the faculty filed a majority and a minority report as a part of their public debate over ROTC. The majority report, hostile to ROTC, based its case on institutional considerations. ROTC, it argued, allowed an employer, the Defense Department in this case, to train its employees on campus and with a faculty assigned to Stanford for only a short period of time. Echoing criticisms heard in the 1950s, the majority noted that the ROTC staff had little commitment to the university since they responded to goals and curricula established outside the institution. The critics maintained, dubiously, that opposition to the Vietnam War did not influence their actions.⁷⁴

The minority report, friendly to ROTC, did not contradict the majority report, but simply argued that nothing in that report showed ROTC to be inimical to the fundamental interests of Stanford or its students. The minority believed that Stanford had a responsibility to support ROTC as a service to the nation and urged that the program be judged, not in reaction to Vietnam, but in the larger context of history and a reasonable estimate of the future.⁷⁵

While the professors debated, academic year 1969-70 began, a difficult, even dangerous, year. At campuses across the nation, AFROTC units were the targets for 1,070 "hostile acts," which included such things as unfriendly studies

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Lt. Gen. Albert P. Clark,
Commander, Air University,
1968–1970.



and adverse literature as well as 37 violent demonstrations and 193 instances of property damage or personal injury. The level of protest abated after December 1, 1969, when the new draft law (a lottery that limited vulnerability to an individual's nineteenth year) went into effect, freeing most students from conscription pressures. Even though the war continued for another three years, hostile acts against AFROTC dropped to 479 in academic year 1970–71 and to 169 the following year.⁷⁶

What did not decrease was the effort by many host institution faculties to deny ROTC academic credit and strip its members of faculty rank. Fearing that ROTC could not survive without credit and aware that accepting such terms violated ROTC's governing legislation, the Defense Department gave ground, but looked for a compromise. In the summer of 1969, Assistant Secretary of Defense Roger T. Kelley sketched the limits of what could be accepted. Close-order drill, always a red flag for demonstrators, could be reduced; some courses could be conducted at summer camp rather than on campus; civilian rather than military instructors in some courses were acceptable; the number of purely military subjects could be reduced; and the hosts were urged to reject any PAS they found unacceptable, a prerogative always available, but seldom exercised. As for faculty rank, Kelley approved titles other than "professor," provided the officer enjoyed a professor's prerogatives. A panel appointed by Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird suggested "adjunct," "visiting," or "affiliated" professor as suitable alternatives. A later change agreed to "program" rather than "department" to describe ROTC's oncampus position.⁷⁷

On the basic issues, however, the Defense Department stood firm: ROTC must have academic credit and its staff must be accorded an acceptable academic rank, a position that met the requirements of the governing legislation and avoided an unacceptable degradation of the program. Unfortunately, a series of difficult, and sometimes secretive, negotiations conducted with host universities over a two-year period beginning in 1969 failed to produce the

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sought-after compromises, at least as far as AFROTC was concerned. Between August 1969 and July 1971, eighteen AFROTC units were either closed or programmed to be closed, five for failure to meet production minimums, seven by mutual agreement between the host and the service, and six due to the inability to negotiate an acceptable contract for the program's continuation. Most of the schools in the last two categories were from the northeast, including six from the Ivy League, and none produced more than a few officers each year. At any one time, as many as sixty colleges, mostly from the more conservative American heartland, were anxious for an AFROTC unit, so the number of active units remained stable. Nevertheless, replacing Harvard and Princeton with, say, Sul Ross State (Texas) or Parsons College (Iowa) did represent a loss in prestige.⁷⁸

Events of the turbulent period did affect enrollment in AFROTC. In the first academic year of heavy American involvement in Vietnam, academic year 1965-66, just under seventy thousand cadets wore AFROTC uniforms. Over the next three years, enrollment declined to about forty-four thousand, the result not only of disenchantment with the war, but also of fewer institutions with mandatory ROTC and the small, but growing, number of schools offering only the much smaller two-year program. Still, the quest for commissions meant that the available billets were always filled. In 1967, over six thousand sophomores applied for the less than fifteen hundred billets in the two-year program; and once an academic year started, enrollment remained stable as those in the program tended to stay there. Ohio State University, a school with a long record of exceptional support for ROTC, set a record by commissioning 475 young men into military service in June 1969.⁷⁹

Ironically, the AFROTC apparently met its production quotas between 1966 and 1969, something it had not done since the mid-1950s. Academic year 1969-70, the year when antiwar opposition on campus surged and efforts to strip ROTC of its campus status began in earnest, marked the end of the brief period when quotas were met and the beginning of a downturn in AFROTC fortunes. After the draft lottery results were announced, enrollment dropped to thirty-one thousand and public optimism about the future of AFROTC gave way to private pessimism and efforts to shore up the program, mainly by widening the recruitment base. Initial efforts to attract more cadets focused on the cross-town agreements that allowed students at an institution without AFROTC to attend classes at one that did. As late as 1970, the service was busily terminating unproductive cross-town agreements. A year later, such agreements were aggressively sought and ten were signed. In 1972, AFROTC instructors began to make trips to the nearby institution, rather than requiring the students to travel. Also that year, AFROTC units were allowed to enroll students without a formal cross-town agreement between institutions, if the two schools involved had consortium arrangements in other areas; and cross-town agreements were extended to non-degree-granting junior colleges in anticipation that the students would finish their degrees at four-year schools. Twenty-two new cross-town

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agreements linking fifty schools were signed in 1972, raising the total to about sixty-eight.⁸⁰

In 1971, several other measures further widened the manpower pool. Both the academic grade point average and minimum acceptable scores on the officer qualification exam were lowered. The required officer exam scores were lowered still further for those who scored well on the pilot and navigator exams. AFROTC scholarships, or Financial Assistance Grants, reached their maximum authorization of fifty-five hundred in 1971 and underwent major modifications. Under pressure from the services, Congress added another one thousand grants to the total and authorized 20 percent for students in the two-year program, modifying the original law that had limited financial support to those in the four-year program. Neither decision entirely satisfied the Air Force, which had requested seventy-five hundred grants and 40 percent to those in the shorter program, but the procurement base had been broadened and officials were optimistic that more grants would be approved in the future.⁸¹

The efforts to broaden the recruitment base did not arrest the decline, although they probably slowed the rate of descent. AFROTC enrollment slipped to 24,500 in 1971, to 23,000 in 1972, and, finally, to 20,000 in 1973, an 80-percent decline from the 102,000 enrolled in October 1962. Even though 1973 marked the end of American military presence in Vietnam, it was also the year the draft ended, freeing young men of the coercion that helped officer procurement. The lowered prestige of the American military, destined to be at its nadir for the next few years, heightened concern about the future of AFROTC. Although some officials stubbornly planned on a stable production of 4,500 annually, of which about 3,000 would enter flight training, others thought the program would be lucky to produce 3,000 each year. Whatever the true figure, the service faced the difficult task of mending AFROTC, making it a viable program, and doing so against the backdrop of a clouded and uncertain future.⁸²

DOMS and TOPLINE: A Better Combination

Outside of manpower demands, the other major officer personnel issue of the late 1960s was the continuing effort to update the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. That legislation, which provided the legal foundations for a small active duty force composed of Regular officers, had been rendered obsolete by the onset of the Cold War and the rise of the large standing military. Although deficient in several areas, the most notable shortcomings were the lack of suitable provisions for career Reserve officers and inadequate promotion provisions that left the temporary promotion system at the mercy of Congressional ceilings.

The first revision effort had failed when the Bolte legislation was permanently withdrawn from consideration in 1966, but Secretary McNamara immediately convened a joint service group to try again. Known as the Officer

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Personnel Study Group, the newly created body spent the next two years collecting and analyzing data and identifying the parameters within which it needed to work. Like the Bolte Committee before it, the study group developed a series of position papers that were circulated among the various services for comments, revised as necessary, and recirculated until an acceptable level of agreement had been achieved. A draft document, the Defense Officer Management System (DOMS), appeared in late 1970.⁸³

Like the Bolte legislation, DOMS recommended a single promotion system, instead of the current temporary and permanent structures, used officer baseline strengths in calculating the rank structure, and placed limits on the number of colonels and lieutenant colonels. For the Air Force, that came to a 112,000 baseline strength, 6,150 colonels, and 11,070 lieutenant colonels. No limit was placed on the number of majors, thereby enhancing promotion opportunities to that rank and its near guarantee of a twenty-year career. In all cases, DOMS specified a range of years of service for promotion consideration, seven to ten years in the case of major, and a range of selection opportunities, 75 to 90 percent for majors, and authorized accelerated, below-the-zone promotions in all field grades.⁸⁴

The basic guidance on promotions remained effective even though officer strength might vary as much as 50 percent above to 45 percent below base strength. The reason that strength could vary so much and promotion opportunities could be maintained despite the static number of colonels and lieutenant colonels was the feature termed "selection-in." In its most controversial provision, DOMS limited active duty beyond twelve years of service to Regular officers. At that point, Reserve officers would be screened for selection-in and a Regular billet, while those not selected would be separated with severance pay in excess of fifteen thousand dollars. Promotion to colonel and lieutenant colonel took place after twelve years of service, thus only Regular officers would compete, and since the number of Regular officers remained constant whatever the fluctuation in the overall force, the static numbers of the top two field grades would not affect promotion opportunities through major.⁸⁵

In other areas, DOMS mandated requirements for earning a commission, established service tenure based on rank, made suggestions to improve retention, validated the concept of forced attrition, and set up retirement procedures. To reduce the complexities that had crippled and ultimately derailed the Bolte legislation, DOMS did not address subjects like education and training, performance evaluation, pay scales, assignment procedures, and policies governing flag officers. DOMS also avoided the Bolte error of trying to impose the same policies on three services that were in many ways quite different. Instead, DOMS established only a skeletal framework and delegated to the services the authority to develop their own internal management procedures. Further, DOMS was evolutionary and would not become effective until the services had shaped their officer corps as necessary to fit within its structure.⁸⁶

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All the military services expressed some reservations about DOMS, ranging from the Army's desire to eliminate Reserve officers earlier than the twelfth year of service to the Navy's dislike of the static number of the top two field grades. The Air Force objected to promotion ranges rather than specific years of service and fixed selection percentages and also fretted about the selection of Reserve officers for Regular billets. Nevertheless, the Air Force found none of the reservations to be insurmountable and suggested that each service begin molding its officer force to fit within the DOMS parameters.⁸⁷

The Air Force's support of DOMS stemmed largely from two events that occurred in the early part of the 1970s. One was the familiar conflict of the Officer Grade Limitation Act of 1954 and the service's commissioned grade structure. The OGLA imposed ceilings on the field-grade ranks in an effort to control the temporary promotion system. Acceptable when enacted, the law became intolerable when the service's maturing officer corps and the need to promote acceptable numbers collided with those ceilings. Five times between 1959 and 1966, the Air Force petitioned Congress for additional field-grade billets, and five times it succeeded. The last such effort, in 1966, had, for the first time, resulted in grade relief sufficient for the Air Force to offer promotion opportunities competitive with the other services. In June 1972, that legislation expired, no permanent solution to the problem was at hand, and the dismal prospect of once again asking for and justifying grade relief became a reality.

Rather than drafting a new law, the Air Force asked Congress to extend the relief legislation in effect since 1966 (PL 89-606) for another six years. Included in the request was authority to activate an unused contingency clause of PL 89-606 that allowed one thousand lieutenant colonels and fifteen hundred majors above the ceilings established by that legislation. The justification was much the same as in the past: without the grade relief, one hundred colonels and twelve hundred lieutenant colonels would be demoted, two hundred lieutenant colonels and eight hundred majors separated from active duty, temporary field-grade promotions might cease, the years of service for promotion eligibility would increase by at least two years, and additional officers could be commissioned on a one-for-one basis to replace officers separated from service.⁸⁸

Unlike the amiable 1966 reaction to PL 89-606, the 1972 proposal encountered opposition. Casper W. Weinberger, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, supported grade relief, but not for six years. Impressed with DOMS, which he felt had a chance for early enactment, and unsure of the effects of America's continuing withdrawal from Vietnam, Weinberger supported a two-year extension of PL 89-606. Under a compromise engineered by Secretary of Defense R. Melvin Laird in March 1972, the proposal sent to Congress asked only for a four-year extension.^{*89}

* DOMS never became law. It did, however, form the basis for the Defense Officer Personnel Management Act (DOPMA) of 1980, which revised the OPA of 1947.

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More opposition arose in the House of Representatives. Otis G. Pike (D-New York), whose strengths included a flair for publicity, framed the issue in a "fat or fight" or "chiefs and Indians" format for the media and made a highly visible attack on many officer personnel policies. Focusing on officers unlikely to see combat, he suggested that they receive more money rather than promotions. Ignoring statements by Secretary of the Air Force Robert Seamans that the permanent promotion system alone could not provide an adequate commissioned structure for the Air Force, Pike questioned the whole idea of temporary promotions. The answer to the problem, he argued, was not grade relief, but demoting some of the almost thirty-six thousand officers with temporary ranks higher than their permanent grades. Sparring with Lt. Gen. Robert J. Dixon, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, during Congressional hearings, Pike labeled the grade relief proposal a "colonel's bill" and suggested that no colonel merited flight pay. Dixon replied that all ranks benefited from increased field-grade billets and argued that flight pay went to those who deserved it, including colonels, some in their fifties, flying combat in Vietnam. Pike then asked the effect of limiting grade relief to two years. Dixon replied that he would be back in two years asking for more relief.⁹⁰

Congress passed the grade relief measure, but the latest brush with critics only reinforced interest in a permanent solution to the ineffective, obsolete patchwork of legislation governing officer personnel matters. DOMS showed promise, but even if enacted did not provide a complete answer, largely because it devolved so much authority to the three military services. That focused much of Air Force's interest on an internal project both to supplement DOMS and to modernize the management of all its personnel—officer, enlisted, and civilian. In fact, the Air Force intended to use the product of that effort regardless of whether DOMS was ever enacted or not.

The Air Force's effort began shortly after the 1966 failure of the Bolte legislation, which would have updated the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. The overall plan, known as the USAF Personnel Plan, incorporated comprehensive personnel inventories, analyses of historical trends, estimates of likely future developments, and sociological studies of military people. For the first time, computers and computer technology assisted in data management and in the creation of a model that accurately simulated the entire personnel system. Within that plan were separate volumes for officers, the enlisted force, the Reserve components, the civilian work force, as well as volumes on goals and objectives and management. Volume I, Personnel Management Objectives, listed the objectives that would govern this new approach to personnel. In all, there were several hundred such objectives, including approximately seventy for officers, that covered major areas such as procurement, training, education, evaluation, utilization, and, finally, separation and retirement.⁹¹

Volume II of the USAF Personnel Plan dealt with officers. It bore the title of Total Objective Plan for Line Officers, but generally went by the acronym

The Vietnam War and New Management Practices

Lt. Gen. Robert J. Dixon,
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel,
1970–1973.



TOPLINE. TOPLINE identified the lack of control within the structure as the major weakness in officer personnel management. Previously, when Congress approved a certain level of training, procurement, education, or grade ceilings for a fiscal year, the service rushed to fill the quotas with too little thought for the future. That process had been repeated year after year. Those decisions were then left to “free flow” through the system for the next thirty years with little, if any, effort to manage their consequences. For example, year groups with high, or low, procurement would show corresponding peaks, or valleys, in that area virtually until its last member had left the service.

Under TOPLINE, with better control, the officer corps could be managed as a closed personnel system in a regulated and purposeful manner, with a continuous input of new people, an upward flow through the levels of experience within each career field, and ultimate separation and retirement. In other words, the officer corps would be managed as a single body moving toward multiple objectives in accordance with a comprehensive plan.⁹²

In its most obvious manifestation, TOPLINE sought to greatly reduce the turbulence caused by fluctuations in authorized strength. Whereas DOMS identified only a single range for total officers, from 50 percent above to 45 percent below a baseline, TOPLINE identified five levels within the officer corps that could vary from a low of 83,000 to a high of 143,000. The finer gradations were to provide greater sensitivity to change. If, for example, the size of the authorized force decreased sufficiently to place officer manning in the next lower level, certain actions would automatically be triggered. Procurement and flight training would decline to a point sufficient to only support the next lower level, fewer Reserve officers would be selected in for a military career, and early outs would begin.⁹³ The success of the previously discussed force reduction that began in fiscal year 1969, which trimmed almost 25,000 officers in five years virtually without involuntary means, showed TOPLINE inspired management even before the program emerged in draft form.

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Although most of TOPLINE's effects occurred in the first few years of military service, efforts to shape the force continued into the later years. Management tools for the later years included varying the number of Regular commissions, groundings or recalls to the cockpit, granting early outs, and, whenever possible, shifting personnel into other career fields. Admittedly, the ability to make changes decreased as time passed and were very limited beyond twelve years, when everyone would have a Regular commission. That reality meant that, despite its ambitious scope, TOPLINE's effect was largely in the early years of service simply because of the greater opportunities to make changes.*

The capability of the service to better manage its officer corps sprang from two developments. First were the insights gained in 1940–1970, the most protracted period of personnel turbulence in American military history. Only in the late 1960s did that experience translate into the knowledge of how to apply its management objectives to an officer corps of 115,000 in perhaps two hundred specialties and twenty-five career fields and stationed at approximately thirteen hundred installations around the world.⁹⁴ That knowledge not only had to include the linear effects of decisions in, say, procurement in future years, but also the effect in lateral areas like retention and promotion opportunities.

The ability to meld these complexities, digest the enormous amount of supporting data, and yield a coherent, workable management tool owed much to the second development of the period, the great advances in computer technology. By the late 1960s, that technology could be used to develop complex simulation models, including ones for personnel structure. The Air Force's model of its officers corps, called the SP², consumed eleven man years of planning and analysis and required over eight hundred test runs of a variety of options before the final configuration emerged in early 1970.⁹⁵

At its simplest, the SP² model presented a display of the existing officer personnel structure that included everything from accessions to promotions to retention to retirement. The model could accept input variables and age the structure to any date based on estimates of likely developments. For example, falling retention among pilots with five to eight years of service could be projected five, ten, or twenty years down the road and the impact judged with a high degree of confidence.

The ability to age the structure allowed the Air Force for the first time to anticipate problem areas and react to them in time to avoid resorting to crash programs when faced with a full-blown crisis. This fueled optimism that the service could look five years ahead and mold the officer personnel structure, not only on a year-to-year basis, but also with an eye to identifying and correcting

* Readers interested in the complexities of the officer structure as addressed by TOPLINE may refer to the USAF Personnel Plan, vol II, Officer Structure, 1st update, May 3, 1971, draft, p 15, ACC 86–155, box 1, 24–2 folder, RG 341, WNRC. For a brief review of TOPLINE in layman's language, see *Air Force Times*, Aug 5, 1970, p 1.

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potential problems five years in the future. In the example of declining retention, pilot training could be modestly increased and a more intensive retention program initiated before shortages developed. Whatever the course of action, a secondary objective was to avoid a rush to catch up and the resulting capriciousness that had too often marked past personnel decisions.⁹⁶

TOPLINE began to pay dividends almost immediately by identifying an impending navigator shortage, causing navigator training to be increased to twelve hundred in fiscal year 1972, and by suggesting ways to decrease pilot training by two thousand billets over the next few years.⁹⁷ TOPLINE's first major, long-range challenge was to shape the officer personnel structure of the service sufficiently to fit with the DOMS profile. In 1970, that structure, the product of thirty years of turbulence and free flow, was a long way from that profile. Major imbalances existed in every area of consideration, whether sheer numbers, rated or nonrated, Regular or Reserve officers, or rank distribution. Figures 10 and 11, simple cross sections taken in fiscal year 1970, compare the projected DOMS structure against the existing officer structure in terms of gross numbers and years of service for rated and nonrated officers. The rated force was the least compatible with the DOMS structure as a result of historically better retention, the low training rates of the early 1960s, and the multiple stresses of the later 1960s.

Initial efforts to determine when the officer structure could fit into the DOMS model proved disheartening. The perturbations of the past were of such magnitude and of such duration that not until fiscal year 1990, a full twenty years in the future, would the officer structure fit entirely within the DOMS parameters. Delaying the implementation of DOMS that long was out of the question, so efforts turned to finding a date when an acceptable compatibility could be achieved. Initially, fiscal year 1980 seemed satisfactory, but, for obscure reasons, that was slipped to fiscal year 1981, a time that the Air Force recommended for the adoption of the DOMS proposal. Figures 12 and 13 show the somewhat modified DOMS structure and the forecast configuration of the Air Force officer corps for each year group in fiscal year 1981. Although the distribution of officers, both rated and nonrated, by years of service showed excesses and deficits in several areas, officials believed it was manageable within the loose confines of the DOMS structure. Not surprisingly, the Air Force, the service with the greatest growth since World War II, required the longest time of the military services to fit its officer corps into the DOMS structure. That growth and its ramifications also delayed the implementation of TOPLINE until late 1978.⁹⁸

* * * * *

The Vietnam War experience tested the Air Force's ability to manage its commissioned combat cadre, the rated officers, under very trying conditions.

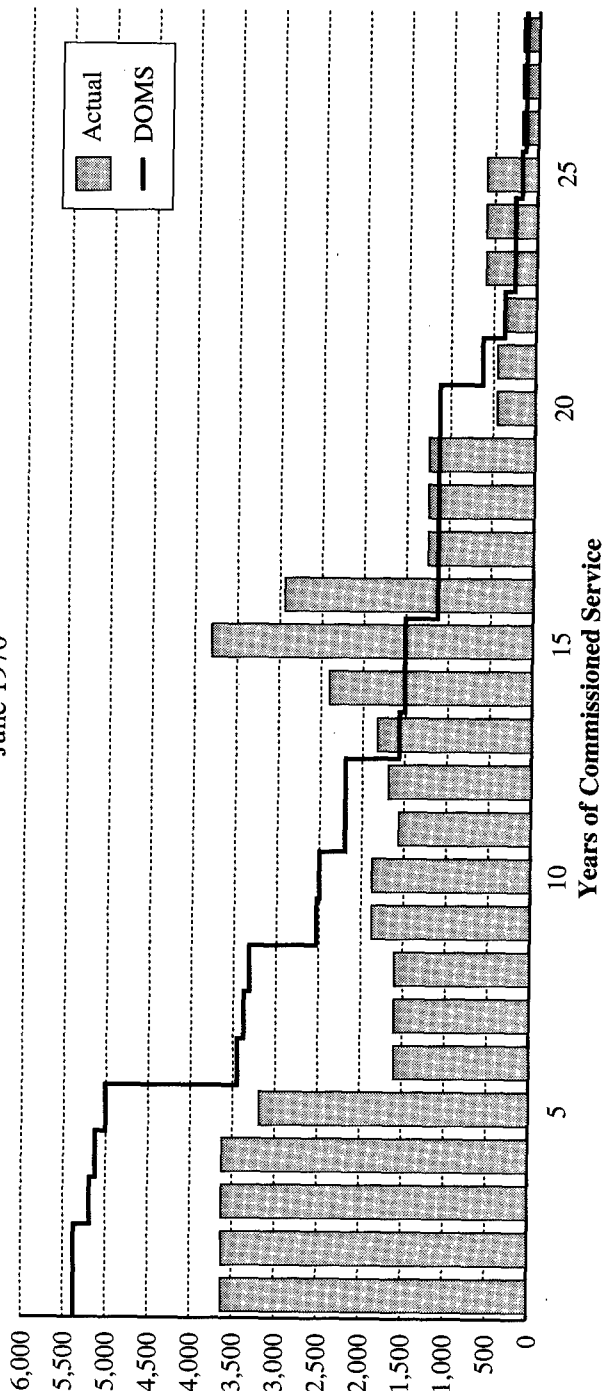
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Virtually every aspect of the force had been plagued with controversies and shortages, ranging from a crippled AFROTC program, to decisions not to use the military's Reserve components, to serious disagreements over the need for pilots, the service's premier group. By the late 1960s, however, the Air Force had developed flexibility and ingenuity, answering the changing procurement demands with the Officer Training School, surviving with far fewer pilots than previously imagined, and exploiting every available avenue to retain personnel in the absence of a state of emergency.

The American involvement in Vietnam also marked the last years of the first generation of the independent Air Force. By 1973, virtually every officer below flag rank with service in World War II had retired, removing from the scene those who had experienced the emergence of air power in the crucible of that war. The first generation had been a learning generation in the sense that the complexities of a large peacetime military incorporating over two hundred officer specialties needed, in many ways, to be experienced before effective management tools could be developed. Unfortunately, that had resulted in errors, sudden policy shifts, and a virtually unbroken period of personnel turbulence extending as far back as 1940, if not earlier.

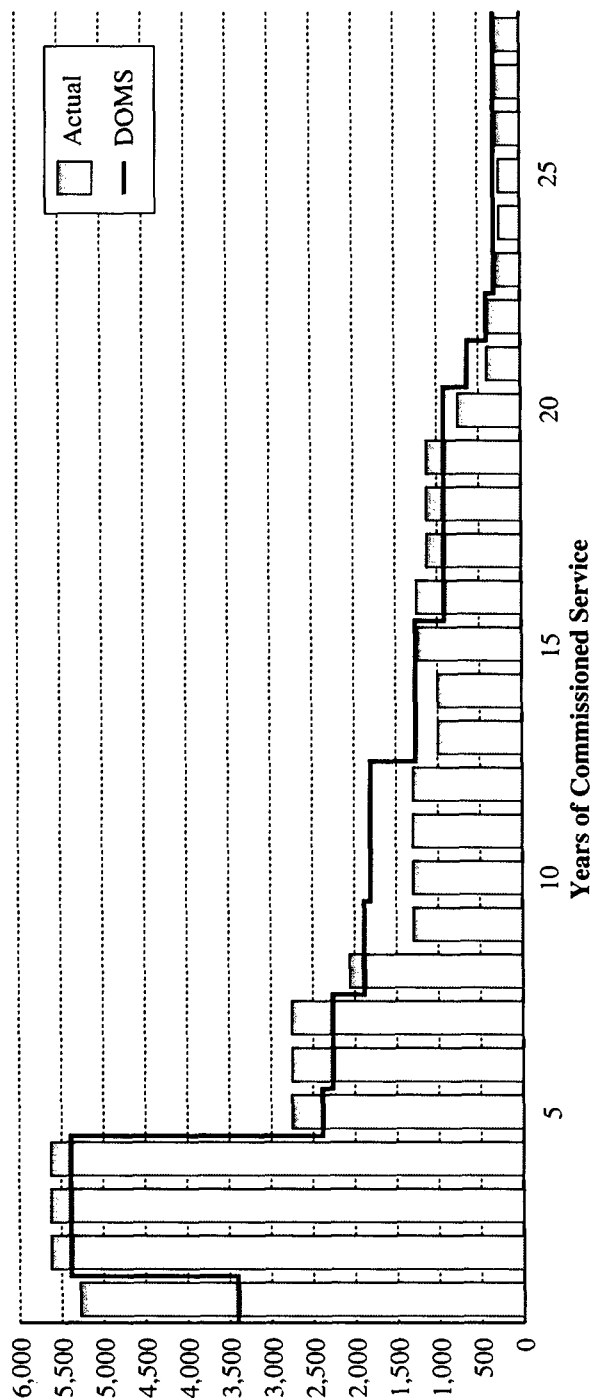
Yet the learning experience was, by the early 1970s, being translated into policies and programs, notably DOMS and TOPLINE, that promised more tranquil times when fully implemented. That tranquility would be needed as the American military faced the decade of the 1970s, a decade marked by an end to selective service, declining strength, and the nadir of prestige, the last a lingering legacy of the Vietnam debacle.

Figure 10
Years of Service-Regular and Reserve Rated Officers
 DOMS and Actual
 June 1970



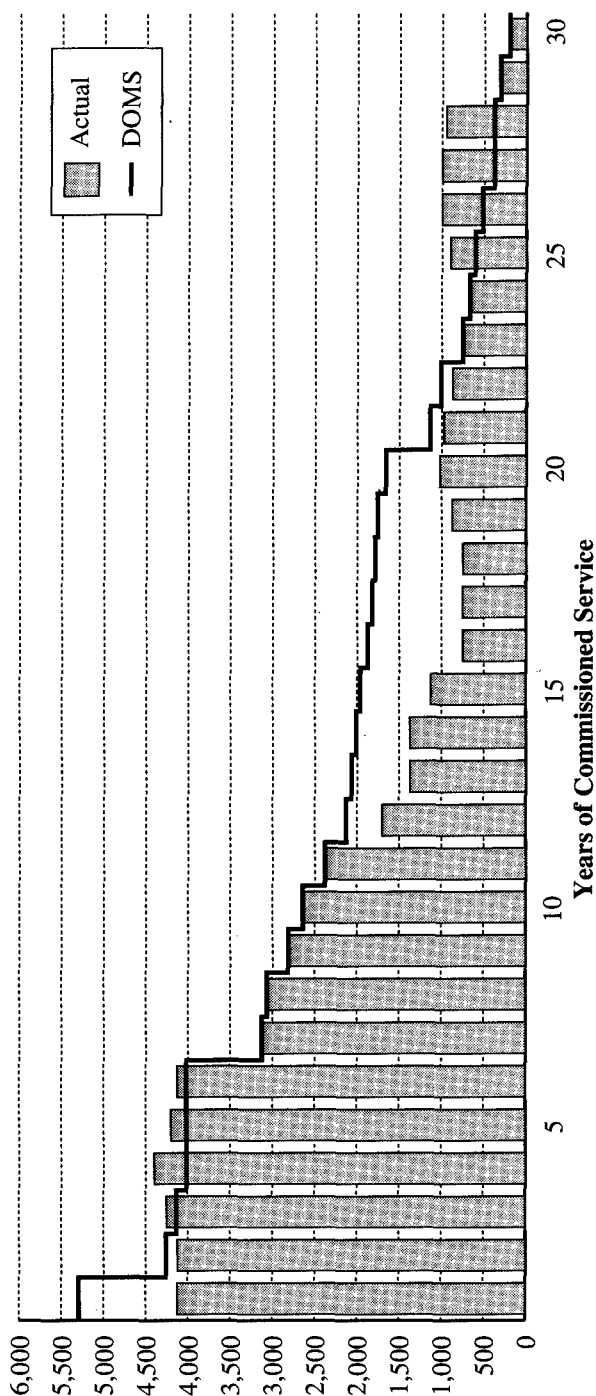
Sources: graph, Air Force Structure of Defense Officer Manpower System (Lt Colonel and Below), undated, ACC 86-155, box 1, 24-1A folder, RG 341, WNRC; the USAF Personnel Plan, vol II, Officer Structure, 1st update, May 3, 1971, draft, p. 15, ACC 86-155, box 1, 24-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

Figure 11
Years of Service-Regular and Reserve Nonrated Officers
 DOMS and Actual
 June 1970



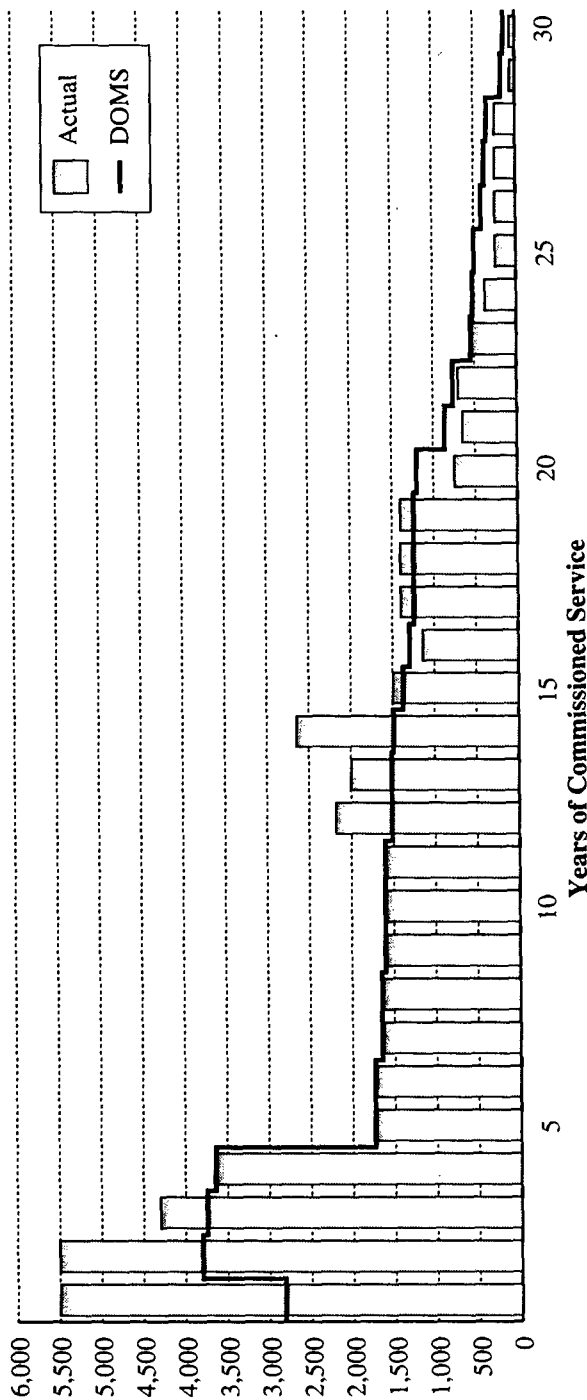
Sources: graph, Air Force Structure of Defense Officer Manpower System (Lt Colonel and Below), undated, ACC 86-155, box 1, 24-1A folder, RG 341, WNR; the USAF Personnel Plan, vol II, Officer Structure, 1st update, May 3, 1971, draft, p. 15, ACC 86-155, box 1, 24-2 folder, RG 341, WNR.

Figure 12
Projected Years of Service—Regular and Reserve Rated Officers
 DOMS and Actual
 1981



Source: briefing, subject: United States Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, USAF Personnel Plan, undated, p. 23, ACC 86-153, box 1, 24-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

Figure 13
Projected Years of Service-Regular and Reserve Nonrated Officers
DOMS and Actual
1981



Source: briefing, subject: United States Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel, USAF Personnel Plan, undated, p. 23, ACC 86-153, box 1, 24-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

Part Three

Overarching Issues

1944–1974

Three issues remain that could not be incorporated comfortably within the main body of the narrative: professionalism and career patterns, gender and race integration, and integration of skills. This difficulty was most obvious in evaluating the conflict inherent in expecting individuals to be both specialists and generalists and in evaluating the basic career path followed by the most successful officers, those officers who reached flag rank. In particular, evaluation of career patterns had to rely largely on statistical data that took shape over a quarter of a century following World War II. Only in looking back from the vantage point of the 1970s could these patterns be assayed.

Examining the path followed as the Air Force integrated in terms of gender and race presented a different problem. Here, the material was rather spotty, but placing women and racial minorities in this section of the narrative was largely a quantitative consideration. The numbers of these officers combined scarcely exceeded two percent of the total, and the policies toward them were uneven. Looking at each group collectively, rather than spreading the material thinly throughout the volume, provided a much better perspective.

The final issue is the expansion of the officer corps to include all skills an independent Air Force needed, instead of almost total dependence on pilots, an initiative undertaken with vigor in the late 1940s. Determining how well the service fulfilled its promise that nonpilots would enjoy career opportunities limited largely by individual ability was again accomplished better with the material consolidated instead of spread across several chapters.

Chapter Eleven

Professionalism and Career Patterns

Development of policy consumed much of the effort expended on officer personnel matters in the first twenty-five years of the independent Air Force. Policies for everything from procurement of new personnel to retirement of those who had served a full career had to be fashioned to meet the needs of a young military service and the changing demands of turbulent times that repeatedly upset plans. Many of the new policies were largely mechanical and left the service little room to maneuver. Force reductions mandated the separation of thousands of officers in a short period of time and limited the available policy options. Similarly, Congressional ceilings on field-grade promotions reduced the Air Force to repeatedly petitioning Congress for relief. On the other hand, the retention problem, at least certain aspects of it, allowed greater freedom of action in policy development and implementation.

Other developmental processes took place during the period. The officer corps of the 1970s was much different than the one that emerged from World War II. Instead of a small Regular establishment almost exclusively pilots, hundreds of skills were incorporated in a body numbering over one hundred thousand. By 1970, officers worked in a worldwide Air Force bureaucracy that was a part of an even larger military bureaucracy. The world of the Air Force officer had become more complex, and the skills and knowledge needed to succeed in that world were much different than in earlier days. This chapter explores the broad spectrum of changes during the quarter century following World War II, how those changes influenced career patterns and educational efforts, and the demands they placed on officers as professionals.

A profession provides expertise to individuals, organizations, and governments; and professionals *profess* to know better than others the nature of those services. The military professional's expertise is in organizing, equipping, training, leading, and directing armed forces in and out of combat to achieve success in war. The political scientist Harold Lasswell coined a classic term when he identified the central skill of the military professional as the "manage-

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ment of violence," a responsibility that could be discharged either through direct involvement with violence or by supporting those directly involved.¹

Incumbent upon military professionals of the United States has been the requirement to ensure that the management of violence be used only for socially approved purposes. This has strictly subordinated the U.S. military to the state, the sole legitimate client of military power in the last two centuries. Professional officers have functioned only as advisers in their expertise and to implement national policy decisions. Customs, ethics, and legal statutes prohibited officers from making high-level policy decisions or even offering unsolicited advice outside military affairs.

The military professional has performed these services within the corporate structure of the officer corps, a structure relatively isolated from contact with civilian professionals. This separation from the civilian realms has been visually underscored by military uniforms, rank insignia, and a complex array of customs and courtesies unique to the military. What set military professionals apart institutionally was the acceptance of "unlimited liability": obeying a legal order, enforceable by law, to place their lives in grave peril in the performance of duty. In general, success for military professionals has required two things: mastering the demands of their individual specialties and understanding a wide array of developments, technical and otherwise, active within the military or affecting the military. Those two, sometimes contradictory, requirements for success provide a good departure point for examining professionalism within the Air Force experience.²

Professionalism and the Air Force Specialist

A world without specialists is difficult to conceive, unless the existing societies are extremely primitive and social needs minimal. This description does not fit the modern world, which could not function without the multitude of specialists who perform the tasks that need to be done. Gen. Henry Arnold realized this as he prepared the Army Air Forces for the post-World War II period and, ultimately, the status of an independent service. This meant an end to the relatively simple, overwhelmingly pilot-dominated world of the Air Corps and the beginning of an era in which a multitude of skills were needed to command, staff, equip, and manage a modern, complex military force. Whereas the Air Corps had only 24 officer specialties, the Air Force of the early 1960s had slightly over 300. Among line officers (excluding chaplains, lawyers, and medical personnel) there were 137 Air Force Specialty Codes; with subdivisions, the number of specialties increased to 200.³

When the guidelines for the independent Air Force were laid down in the late 1940s, one of the more important decisions was the rejection of the Army system, which grouped specialties into corps. Instead, the majority of the offi-

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cers were placed in a single body, the Officers of the Line of the Air Force (line officers) and specialties were grouped into career fields. With this single body of officers, the policy makers hoped to avoid the power struggles and identification with the various corps that they believed had weakened the overall effectiveness of the Army. Thus, the reasoning went, the line officer concept would smooth over differences and all line officers would consider themselves Air Force officers and not engineers, communications officers, or whatever their specialty. That was the ideal, but it did not work out exactly that way.

In actuality, every officer became a specialist: a pilot, statistician, or civil engineer. Officers had to master their respective specialties, and this became a determining factor in their career patterns. Those unable to achieve an acceptable proficiency in their specialty would be unlikely to make the minimum rank (major) necessary for a career, regardless of their other capabilities.

Except for an occasional career-broadening assignment, most officers spent their military service in their initial career field. When efficiency reports were written, both the evaluation of "job knowledge" and the overall rating hinged almost entirely on mastery of the specialty. In a 1964 survey of supervisors who wrote efficiency reports, almost 75 percent gave little if any thought to anything other than how the subordinates performed in their current duties, in most cases, their specialties. Attributes associated with broader, "generalist" career patterns, such as professional military education and career broadening assignments, received scant weight. A 1959 study of AFROTC students noted a much stronger identification among students with their college major than with the Air Force or being an Air Force officer. Thus the Air Force experience may have only reinforced a trend already developed by the time young officers got commissioned. Increasingly, officers identified themselves as "navigators" or "engineers," perhaps as "Air Force navigators" or "Air Force engineers," rather than as "Air Force officers."⁴

Such identification was strengthened by the military bureaucracy that administered and managed all the specialties as a whole. By definition, a bureaucracy is a pyramid-shaped body of appointed and salaried officials who have the authority to issue orders and the power to get things done. As in the remainder of society, the military bureaucracy was the product of specialization. The more complex the organization, the greater was the need for specialists, and the larger became the bureaucracy.⁵

By 1952, the Air Staff alone had a bureaucratic structure of approximately six hundred different offices that generated perhaps two tons of unclassified waste paper daily. In the 1960s, the Air Staff bureaucracy generated and kept current 684 manuals, 1,485 regulations, and 332 pamphlets governing everything from relations with Congress to designing unit emblems and investigating reports of unidentified flying objects. Multiply these figures by the other levels in the Air Force, which in 1965 included 16 major air commands, 19 numbered air forces, 52 air divisions, 181 wings, 323 groups, and 2,252 squadrons, each

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with its own bureaucracy, and the magnitude of the overall structure becomes clear.⁶ Small wonder that officers identified with the comparatively comfortable confines of their specialties.

In addition to being intimidating, the military bureaucracy had two other attributes that reinforced the individual's identification with their specialties. First was the restrictive effect of working within the bureaucratic structure. Whereas military specialization engendered the military bureaucracy, that same bureaucracy also enforced specialization. The Air Force bureaucracy from wing (base) level upward was organized on a deputy system, each with its own *de facto* chain of command. For example, personnel officers routinely worked out problems exclusively within the chain of command of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel. Personnel officers at one level, say a numbered air force, routinely conducted business with other personnel officers either upward to a major air command or downward to wing level, and did so informally via telephone or formally through written correspondence.

The second feature enforcing specialization was the existence of chains of command approximating each of the Air Force's career fields. As a rule, a staff officer working with someone from another career field did not cross into the other's chain of command. For example, a supply officer trying to get additional supply specialists assigned to a certain base would present the requirement and associated justification to a personnel officer at a designated contact point. The personnel officer would work the problem entirely within personnel channels and present the supply officer with the decision. In this way, the separation of the specialties remained largely intact. Under such conditions, officers could serve at every bureaucratic level, and as long as they remained in the same career field, their vision outside that career field was limited.

As much as anything, the sheer volume of the workload and the complexity of the tasks made it imperative that officers work within a limited sphere in the interest of getting things done. That was true even at the highest levels, where the problems addressed largely concerned servicewide policy. In 1969, a staff officer placing a proposed change in airborne reconnaissance operations on the desk of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations, noted that thirty-five other staff proposals had already been delivered that day. In 1959, Gen. Thomas D. White, the Chief of Staff, personally made 147 policy decisions ranging from a new lightweight uniform to the next year's missile program. In that same year, he also received or dispatched about twenty-four thousand electronic messages dealing with every conceivable subject germane to the Air Force.⁷

Clearly, the workload was far beyond the capability of senior commanders to administer without delegating a vast amount of authority to subordinates. General White could not make 147 policy decisions nor the Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations, clear the thirty-six proposals from his desk without faith in the preliminary work done by a multitude of staff officers, most working in their specialties. As for the twenty-four thousand electronic messages, the Chief of

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Staff never saw more than a tiny fraction of them. The remainder were handled routinely by the specialists on his staff, with the general informed of the more important ones via memos or through his personal read file.

If commanders could not deal adequately with the complexities of the modern Air Force on their own, their careers might well hinge on the competence of those who did the preliminary work, made recommendations, and sometimes made decisions in the interest of getting things done. In the two examples cited, the Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations, would usually bypass the reference material appended to each of the thirty-six proposals on his desk in favor of each proposal's one-page staff summary sheet that laid out the problem, the arguments for change, and a recommendation. If the staff summary sheet was well thought out and if he had confidence in the staff officers involved, he would approve the recommendation. Likewise, authorizing staff officers to send out messages in the name of the Chief of Staff required great confidence in subordinates, since those messages had servicewide implications.

Thus a major byproduct of specialization and bureaucratization was the increased importance of subordinate staff officers. By the 1960s, most promotions below the general officer level were based on expertise in specialized skills and mastery of the military bureaucracy rather than on the more traditional basis of seniority and success as a commander. The need to reward subordinates, as well as to attract and hold competent officers, resulted in a rank structure that in no way conformed to the classic pyramid in which higher ranks had fewer members. Instead, the structure (see table 17) bulged in the middle with captain the most prevalent rank (33 percent), more majors (22 percent) than second lieutenants (15 percent), and almost as many lieutenant colonels (11 percent) as first lieutenants (13 percent).

Thus, the realities of the modern Air Force made every officer a specialist and strengthened the identification that individuals had with their specialty. However, the tilt toward specialization could only go so far before responding to a tug in the opposite direction. No military service could function with an officer corps limited to specialists and bureaucrats. Every point in the military hierarchy needed officers with a broader knowledge of issues and an understanding of the larger implications of policy decisions. In other words, the service also needed generalists.

Professionalism and the Air Force Generalist

The trend toward specialization and the need for generalists in the military did not contradict each other. Every hierarchy or bureaucracy, military or otherwise, needs generalists at every level. Even branch chiefs, in the lowest unit of the military staff, must have a broader vision than their subordinates. Projecting that necessity upward through the military bureaucracy required those in posi-

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tions of responsibility to have ever greater generalist credentials as the hierarchical level increased. Branch chiefs at wing (base) level could get by with a modest amount of general knowledge, but branch chiefs on the Air Staff faced servicewide issues and needed a correspondingly broader span of knowledge or experience to effectively discharge their duties.⁸

Table 17

USAF Officer Rank Structure 1968

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
General Officer	435	Less than 1
Colonel	6,617	5
Lieutenant Colonel	15,090	11
Major	30,066	22
Captain	45,081	33
First Lieutenant	16,924	13
Second Lieutenant	20,620	15
Total	134,833	100

Source: *Air Force Statistical Digest, FY 1968*, table 100, p. 277.

What made generalists essential was responsibility. Supervisors or commanders had to place considerable trust in their staff officers to get the job done, but those same supervisors or commanders were accountable for the actions of their staffs or decisions based on staff recommendations. Decisions gone awry were laid at the feet of those in positions of responsibility, sometimes with very unpleasant consequences for career ambitions. In short, authority, based on trust, could be delegated, but responsibility could not. The famous "The Buck Stops Here" sign on Harry Truman's desk was, in its own way, a terse acknowledgement of that fact.

Generalists have thus far been discussed only in the context of assigning officers to various career fields as a way of broadening their backgrounds, but acquiring generalist credentials was much more complex than that. Take, for example, professional military education. Since 1946, the Air Force, similar to

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the other services, has operated a three-tiered system of professional military schools under the auspices of the Air University, with school attendance by selection. From the Squadron Officers School for lieutenants and captains, through the Air Command and Staff College for majors, to the Air War College for lieutenant colonels and colonels, the schools have provided academic curricula to expand the horizons of their students. Collectively, the Air University schools attempted to:

enhance the professional military competence of Air Force officers through a progressive program of education designed to meet the requirements of those officers as they assume higher levels of duties and responsibilities.⁹

The major issue facing professional military education was what to teach to fulfill that mission. To answer that question, the curricula of the three schools have been evaluated and revised continually over the years. That process was exceedingly complex and is far beyond the scope of this volume to recount; in fact, it merits its own scholarly analysis. The intent here is only to illustrate the gross changes in curricula of the three schools, approximately twenty years apart, that the Air University used to better qualify student officers for increasingly more responsible positions.

With the exception of a limited amount of time spent on joint operations with the sister services and an attempt to assess the impact of technology, professional military education at the immediate postwar Air University provided a "nuts-and-bolts" look at the Air Force and the conflict just ended. That introspective orientation was about what could have been expected. In the years immediately following World War II, the Air Force education system gravitated toward the traditional confines of the peacetime military as defined by tradition and law, specifically, the service itself and preparation of officers for the challenges of the next war by studying purely military matters.

That changed in the 1950s as the Cold War levered the military out of its traditional peacetime isolation. In the absence of a declared war, but in the presence of a protracted ideological, economic, and military confrontation with the Soviet Union and its client states, military officers had to be guided by efforts to prevent war as well as by war-fighting theory and the traditional goal of military victory. As in the past, military force was not the first option in the nation's arsenal. Diplomacy and economic power still offered better choices, increasingly so since the growing number and power of nuclear weapons made a military clash with the Soviet Union less and less an acceptable option. Force multipliers in the form of military alliances, unthinkable in peacetime before the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, required officers to integrate American objectives with those of other nations, including nations with agendas sufficiently different to pose problems. To meet

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these new challenges, officers, particularly senior officers, needed a different background from that provided by previous professional military education.

Change began in 1950 when the State Department, at the Air Force's request, permanently assigned a senior foreign service officer of ambassadorial rank to the Air University to assist in curriculum development. Within a year, the Air Force's professional military schools began to shift away from purely military subjects. The emphasis broadened quickly to include the national power structure, international considerations, and the preparation of officers for senior military executive positions.¹⁰

Of the Air Force schools, the changes affected the curriculum at the Squadron Officers School (the junior school) the least. Convening three classes annually, each sixteen weeks long, and attended by selected first lieutenants and captains, the Squadron Officers School, most of all, kept a narrow orientation. The three hundred academic hours given to leadership, communications, staff work, and air power kept the 1967–68 curriculum, as was that in 1948–49, focused primarily on the parent service and almost exclusively on the military (table 18). Only the forty-four hours on national power and international relations in the 1967–68 curriculum were clearly nonmilitary. Given the objective of SOS to equip junior officers for duty at base (wing) level, the continuing emphasis on military matters was to be expected. By 1966, nearly forty-two thousand officers had attended SOS.¹¹

The situation was much different in the intermediate service school, the Air Command and Staff College (ACSC), where the mission was to equip officers for field-grade positions. By the mid-1960s, ACSC had long since broken out of the mold that emphasized the parent service. Instead, ACSC students got a nine-month education that ranged far afield from air power (table 19). Of the 758 academic hours in the 1967–68 curriculum, only about a third were devoted strictly to the parent service. The remainder touched on such diverse subjects as the Department of Defense power structure, decision-making techniques that incorporated mathematical models and computers, nuclear and conventional weaponry, the sister services, foreign military forces, and a greatly expanded study of international relations. The "military employment" section of the curriculum featured three sophisticated war games (counterinsurgency, limited, and general) incorporating economic and political considerations as well as air, land, and sea forces. ACSC had graduated over thirteen thousand officers by 1966.¹²

Senior lieutenant colonels and junior colonels selected to attend the ten-month Air War College were the service's future elites, those with the greatest perceived potential for flag rank. That made the AWC of critical importance in broadening the backgrounds of those most likely to become the service's senior commanders and policy makers. If the ACSC had broadened its curriculum well beyond Air Force subjects, the AWC pushed the horizons back even further to prepare officers to deal with multinational alliances, national and international politics, and the combined command structure of the American military.

Table 18

Squadron Officers School Curriculum

1948-1949	1967-1968
Seminar Division (23)* Conference Techniques Oral Communications	Communicative Skills (91)* Problem Solving Communications
Military Management (67) The Military Staff Military Law Duties of the Commander	Air Force Leadership (148) Characteristics Principles Techniques
Operational Services (55) Flight Operations Intelligence Communications Weather	National Power/International Relations (44) U. S. National Policy International Conflict
Tactics (77) Air Warfare Environment Joint Operations Strategic Air Operations Tactical Air Operations Air Defense Navigation and Bombing Air Transportation	Command and Management (63) Military Organizations Management Theory Resource Management The Military Commander
Supply and Maintenance (40) Supply Maintenance	Air Power in War (95) Nature of War Air Power Employment
Technological Developments (41)	

* Figures in parenthesis indicate academic hours.

Source: AU Catalogues, 1948-1949, pp. 67-69, and 1967-68, pp. 29-33. A copy of the earlier document was furnished by the AU historian while the later document was found in the AU history, Jul. 1, 1966-Jun. 30, 1967, vol. IV. Until the early 1950s, the Squadron Officers School was known as the Air Tactical School.

Table 19

Air Command and Staff College Curriculum

1946-1947	1967-1968
Air Forces (382)* Air Power Reconnaissance Tactical Air Study Air Defense Strategic Air Study Troop Carrier Study Intelligence Special Operations Communications	Military Environment (150)* International Environment The Free World and U. S. Security Communist Nations and U. S. Security
Ground Forces (68) Army Ground Forces	Military Management (267) Command and Leadership Military Decision Making Resource Management Remote Unit Problems
Logistics (114) Logistical Organization Supply and Maintenance Transportation Construction Medical Services	Military Employment (361) U. S. Military Strategy and National Security U. S. and Allied Military Capabilities Counterinsurgency Limited War High Intensity War Space Air Force Plans/Objectives
Technology (87)	
Organization (197) Management and Organization Command and Leadership Personnel Public Relations	
Naval Forces (42) The Navy	

* Figures in parenthesis indicate academic hours.

Source: AU Catalogues, 1946-47, pp. 35-49, and 1967-68, pp. 18-26. In the late 1940s, the Air Command and Staff College was called the Air Command and Staff School. In 1951, it became the Field Officers Course, assuming its present name later in the decade. The earlier edition of the AU Catalogue was furnished by the AU historian. For an indepth look at the Air Command and Staff College curriculum for a single year, see history, Air Command and Staff College, AU history, Jul. 1-Dec. 31, 1966, vol. VII, appendix B.

Professional and Career Patterns

Of the three professional schools, the AWC underwent the most change during the twenty years following the creation of the Air Force as an independent service (table 20). That change, and with it the broadened horizons, could be detected by comparing the AWC mission statements from 1946 and 1965, respectively:

Consideration of the broad aspects of air power . . . to determine the most effective deployment and employment of the Army Air Forces as a whole, and to prepare officers to command and employ large Air Force units.¹³

To prepare senior officers for high command and staff duty by developing in them a sound understanding of military strategy in support of national security policy in order to ensure an intelligent contribution toward the effective deployment and employment of aerospace power.¹⁴

Gone from the 1965 mission statement was the narrow emphasis on air power and the preparation to command purely air units and gone from the 1967–68 curriculum were the subjects that taught those things. Education in such matters was left to the other two professional schools or was gained via assignments and hands-on experience. Of the 849 academic hours in 1967–68, only about 50 were devoted strictly to the Air Force and perhaps another 400 to the American military in general. The remaining 400 academic hours prepared officers to function as senior military executives on national and international levels. For example, the 104 hours on “Military Economics” was skewed much more toward national monetary policy and the federal budget than toward the military. The 50 hours on “National Security Policy” totally ignored the military in favor of such subjects as Congress, allocation of national resources, the Department of State, the federal bureaucracy, and the impact of public opinion. Finally, 80 to 90 hours were devoted to the political, economic, and military objectives of other nations, particularly countries in NATO and the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact. By January 1966, AWC had prepared slightly over three thousand officers for positions of high responsibility.¹⁵

Paralleling the curricula changes within the Air Force’s professional military education system was the willingness of the service to send officers to intermediate and senior professional military schools other than its own as a means of broadening still further the perspective of its future leaders. These schools included equivalent schools of the sister services, such as the Naval War College; multiservice schools, such as the Armed Forces Staff College; or even those of a foreign military, most often in Great Britain or Canada. In 1966, 195 of 701 (28 percent) of the Air Force officers in intermediate professional military education were attending schools outside the parent service, including 10

Table 20

Air War College Curriculum

1946-1947	1967-1968
Oral Expression & Conference Procedures (2)*	National Power (96) [†] Elements of Power The Military Threat Security & Policy
Problem Solving (2)	
Personnel Management (2)	National Security Policy (50)
Air Forces Organization (2)	Theory of War (66)
Evaluation of the European War in World War II (3)	Decision Making (104) Defense Economics Decision Theory Systems Analysis
Air Intelligence (2)	
Logistics (3)	Military Capabilities/ Employment (243)
Combat Training (2)	JCS & Other Agencies National & Multinational Forces
Evaluation of the Pacific War in World War II (3)	Military Strategy & Air Power (190)
Commands Coordination with the Army and Navy (3)	Technology/Strategy National Strategy Future Military
Impact of the Atomic Bomb (1)	

* Figures in parenthesis under 1946-1947 indicate weeks.

† Figures in parenthesis under 1967-1968 indicate academic hours.

Source: AU Catalogues, 1946-47, pp. 53-70, and 1967-68, pp. 12-16. For an indepth look at the AWC for a single year, see "Curriculum for the AWC, 1951-A Resident Course, Jan. 1951-Jun. 1951," in AU hist, Jan. 1-Jun. 31, 1951, vol. II. For a broad analysis of the trends in the first twenty years of the AWC, see "History of the Air War College," AUIO-H study series number 17, undated, AFHSO K239.044-17.

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in British and Canadian schools. At the senior level, the figure was 122 of 348 (35 percent), including 7 in British and Canadian institutions. For each Air Force officer attending the school of a sister or foreign military service, one of the other service's officers attended the equivalent Air Force school.¹⁶

The basic, if uneven, trend from 1950 to 1970 was toward greater attendance at professional military schools by those who became general officers (table 21). In 1950, Air Force flag officers with no professional schooling (about 14 percent) were confined to the younger generals, a reflection of the impact of the war when relatively junior officers were catapulted into positions and ranks that limited subsequent educational opportunities. Similarly, only 39 percent had attended senior schools, again related to the disruption of the recent conflict. Nevertheless, among brigadier generals, the youngest of the flag officers, half had attended a senior school, an indication that a trend toward attending such schools was already developing. By 1960, 66 percent of all general officers had attended a senior service school, although the percentage of those who had no such education remained at about 14 percent. In 1970, the percentage who had attended a senior school remained virtually the same, but the number without any professional education had climbed to almost 20 percent, a reflection of the cuts made during the Vietnam war.

Otherwise, the major limiting factor in professional military education was the numbers that could be accommodated at the various schools. In January 1950, the Air Force Education Board, chaired by Gen. Muir Fairchild, noted the desirability of having every career officer attend every level of professional military education, but dismissed the idea as impractical. The expense involved and the inability to spare officers from their duties in such numbers mandated lesser levels of attendance. As a practical objective, the board recommended that all Regular officers attend the junior school, 60 percent the intermediate, and 20 percent the senior.¹⁷

Even the practical objectives were soon swept away during the Korean War by the increase in the size of the officer corps, although subsequent education boards stubbornly refused to abandon the Fairchild Board's recommendations. The reality was that, although almost three thousand officers attended professional schools each year by the mid-1960s, most officers did not have that opportunity. For them, the only access to professional military education was the Extension Courses Institute (ECI).¹⁸

Established in the early 1950s to provide correspondence courses in the many Air Force specialties, the ECI later expanded to offer courses in each of the three levels of professional military education. Interested officers could take the courses in seminar groups at some bases or individually by correspondence. Enrollment was voluntary and ECI furnished all course materials.

Several factors, however, reduced the appeal of the ECI option. Despite attempts by some military units to provide time during duty hours, usually an hour or so a week for those in the seminar groups, most of the work had to be

Table 21

Highest Professional Military Education
Air Force Line General Officers
 (percent)

	<u>General</u>	<u>Lieutenant General</u>	<u>Major General</u>	<u>Brigadier General</u>
1950				
Junior	-	1.8	7.3	14.7
Intermediate	1.8	0.9	11.9	8.3
Senior	2.8	0.9	4.6	31.2
None	-	-	4.6	9.2
1960				
Junior	4.3	1.1	-	-
Intermediate	-	1.1	6.5	6.5
Senior	-	5.4	30.4	30.4
None	1.1	3.6	5.4	4.3
1970				
Junior	-	-	1.2	1.2
Intermediate	-	2.4	3.7	6.1
Senior	2.4	12.2	23.2	28.0
None	3.7	2.4	4.9	8.5

Sources: The general officers used to compile this table were selected at random. In the case of 1950, it is approximately a 50-percent sample taken from the *Biographical Study of Air Force General Officers, 1918-1952*, vol. II. For 1960 and 1970, the figure is about 25 percent, from the biographical profiles published on each general officer by the Secretary of the Air Force Office of Public Affairs. All materials are found in the AFHSO library.

done on the individual's own time. Each course could take as long as two years to complete, which proved to be a real deterrent. Worse, the officers enrolled all knew that the level of education was greatly inferior to that of the residence programs and that the correspondence courses carried much less weight in the competition for promotions. Many, perhaps most, took a ECI course grudgingly and only because they believed that it might tip the balance in their favor if promotion boards resorted to "tie breakers" in making selections. Some officers declined to take the ECI courses at all, and of those actively enrolled, as many

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as sixty-five hundred in the mid-1960s, less than half ever finished a course. In sum, the ECI courses did reach great numbers of officers, but broadening the background of Air Force officers through professional military education via correspondence had only limited success.¹⁹

More success came from efforts to broaden officers' backgrounds through assignments outside their primary career fields. This option was open to everyone, although the only group for which sufficient data was found to analyze the impact of assignments was, once again, general officers. The sample selected was from 1970, twenty-three years after the Air Force gained independence and long enough for assignment patterns to have developed (table 22). Only those assignments after the establishment of the independent Air Force (1947) and before officers got their first star, excluding professional military schools, were considered. All rated officers had operations (flying) as their primary career field, and nonrated officers had a primary career field based on their early career patterns and academic backgrounds. Officers were considered to have generalist assignment backgrounds if they had at least one permanent duty assignment outside their primary career fields. Such assignments were usually in another

Table 22

Assignment Patterns
Air Force Line General Officers
1970
(percent)

	<u>Operations Only</u>	<u>Generalist*</u>	<u>Nonrated Specialist</u>
General	3.8	2.5	—
Lieutenant General	6.3	22.5	1.3
Major General	6.3	20.0	1.3
Brigadier General	5.0	26.3	5.0

* Defined as having at least one assignment outside of the individual's primary career field, to a multiservice organization, or to an agency outside the military.

Source: The general officers used in this table were selected at random. It is approximately a 25-percent sample obtained from the Secretary of the Air Force Office of Public Affairs biographical sketches of general officers for 1970.

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career field, but they also included duty as a liaison officer with a sister service; to the Joint Chiefs of Staff; to a multinational military organization, such as NATO; to another government agency, such as the Central Intelligence Agency; or even to the White House staff.

In the 1970 sample, 71 percent of the general officers had generalist assignment backgrounds, an indication that this aspect of career broadening had received serious attention. Still, their careers varied appreciably, and generalist assignments were not necessary for promotion to and within flag ranks. A fairly large number, including over half the four-star generals, had remained in operations for their entire careers. As with professional schooling, a broad, generalist assignment background was desirable, but it was only another part of the individual's selection folder.

Yet another area where assignments provided generalist experience was in the highest level of assignments, particularly if one of those assignments was to a high level outside the Air Force. Joint duty assignments had increasingly become available since the establishment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the 1940s. Beginning in the 1960s, opportunities for such assignments proliferated, including interservice agencies, such as the Defense Supply Agency and the Defense Communications Agency; unified commands, composed of all the services, such as United States European Command and Strike Command; and the multinational military organizations, principally NATO. At any one time in the mid-1960s, over forty-five hundred Air Force officers were in joint assignments, including approximately 28 percent of the flag officers.²⁰

About 19 percent of these officers had served at the major command level, 40 percent on the Air Staff, and 42 percent had a joint tour (table 23). The last percentage was a bit low given the importance of joint duty, but 56 percent of those who had joint assignments after becoming general officers also had such an assignment prior to getting their first star. This percentage suggests a recognition of the importance of joint assignments and an effort to fill those billets with officers who had previously had such a tour. Also, among the brigadier generals, almost half had joint experience, about twelve points higher than the average of the three senior grades. This probably indicates an effort in the 1960s to rectify a perceived deficiency in assignment patterns.

As much as anything, the tables in this chapter show the variations possible in the career pattern of general officers, variations that are most apparent in professional military education. While professional military education undoubtedly assisted officers in their later duty performance and promotion boards viewed it favorably, mere attendance did not guarantee promotions. Most officers who attended professional schools, even the senior school, did not make general, while others achieved flag rank with no professional schooling. That was most apparent in the rank of four-star general where virtually no pattern in professional education existed. In fact, the most common condition among four-star generals was no professional education.

Table 23

**Highest Assignment Level
Prior to the Rank of Brigadier General
1970
(percent)**

	<u>Major Command</u>	<u>Air Staff</u>	<u>Joint Assignment</u>
General	2.3	1.2	2.3
Lieutenant General	4.7	5.8	7.0
Major General	7.0	16.3	12.8
Brigadier General	4.7	16.3	19.8

Source: The general officers used to compile this table were selected at random. It is approximately a 25-percent sample obtained from the Secretary of the Air Force Office of Public Affairs biographical sketches of general officers for 1970.

Timing, particularly the date officers completed a senior school, was important. Overall, 246 of the 1,050 (23 percent) graduates of the first nine AWC classes (1947–1955) became general officers, with considerable variance between classes. The first three classes (1947–1949), benefiting from the military buildup of the early 1950s, saw 105 of 275 (38 percent) win stars. Conversely, the next three classes (1950–1952) found the upper ranks already filled and only 59 of 404 (15 percent) achieved flag rank. Beyond that, the patterns showed only a broad trend of attendance at professional schools by general officers in representative samplings taken over a twenty-year period.²¹

By the service's own definition, all promotions, whether temporary or permanent and regardless to what level, were based on the perceived potential to discharge the responsibilities of the next higher grade. Potential was defined as the sum of many factors, of which the generalist credentials were but a part. The central factor in judging potential was past and present duty performance. Thus, as with professional military education, the attributes of a generalist were most beneficial in helping officers discharge their duties. Mere possession of generalist credentials was much less important.

The most common attribute was the ability to command. Of the general officers in the 1970 sample, 90 percent were rated, about average for any year in the quarter century after World War II. Of the rated officers, 89 percent had successfully commanded at some point, most at the group or wing level, prior to being selected for flag rank. Professional schooling, varied assignments, and

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bureaucratic skills were desirable, but stars fell in the greatest number on rated officers who ultimately commanded flying units.

Sources of Commissions

The remaining area to be examined in the context of this chapter is the commissioning sources for general officers. Traditionally, American military services have favored graduates of their own academies when selecting officers for high rank. That favoritism was based both on numbers (prior to World War II, most Regular officers came from academies) and preference for officers molded most carefully to fit the individual service's definition of leadership. With origins as part of the Army, the Air Force had a different beginning than the other services and, as a result, has a less pronounced domination by service academy graduates. Table 24 illustrates the Air Force's experience by sampling general officers at 1950, 1960, and 1970. In all cases, West Point produced the service academy graduates shown in the table. Naval Academy midshipmen and graduates of the Air Force Academy (and the Air Force's Officer Training School) began entering the service too late to influence the upper ranks structure. With approximately twenty-four years of service needed for promotion to brigadier general, Naval Academy graduates could be expected to show up in the general officer ranks by the mid-1970s, with Air Force academy and OTS graduates beginning to get stars about a decade later.

In 1950, most Air Force general officers had been commissioned in the two decades that began in about 1914, with the majority dating from World War I or immediately thereafter. In the main, the 1950 sample had a more traditional pattern, with West Pointers in predominance, although less than academy graduates among flag officers of the Army or Navy. The "other" category includes officers commissioned in another branch of the Army and subsequently transferred to the Air Corps. None of these officers were West Point graduates.

A decade later, the major postwar trend was apparent. Composed mostly of officers commissioned from the late 1920s to the early 1940s, the 1960 sample reflected a shift in officer procurement patterns. Beginning about 1939, the Aviation Cadet program became the major source of rated officers, and this trend intensified between 1942 and 1945 when over two hundred fifty thousand young men were commissioned by that program. At the same time, West Point production remained relatively stable. Two decades later, that translated into a near equity in the total number of general officers from the two major sources, although West Pointers dominated the two senior grades. Also represented were some graduates of the prewar ROTC program who, called to active duty during the emergency, opted for a military career. The "other" category still contained mostly nonacademy graduates who had transferred from another branch of the Army, but also some officers who had received direct commissions.

Table 24

Sources of Commissions
Air Force Line General Officers.
 (percent)

	<u>Aviation Cadets</u>	<u>West Point</u>	<u>OCS</u>	<u>ROTC</u>	<u>Other</u>
1950					
General	0.9	3.7	-	-	-
Lieutenant General	2.8	-	-	-	-
Major General	9.2	18.3	-	0.9	2.8
Brigadier General	15.6	35.8	-	-	10.1
Total	28.5	57.8	-	0.9	12.9
1960					
General	1.1	4.3	-	-	-
Lieutenant General	1.1	7.5	-	1.1	1.1
Major General	21.5	17.2	-	1.1	4.3
Brigadier General	18.3	14.0	-	4.3	3.2
Total	42.0	43.0	-	6.5	8.6
1970					
General	3.1	3.1	-	-	-
Lieutenant General	6.1	2.0	-	3.1	1.0
Major General	21.4	10.2	1.0	2.0	-
Brigadier General	21.4	20.4	1.0	1.0	3.1
Total	52.0	35.7	2.0	6.1	4.1

Sources: The general officers used to compile this table were selected at random. In the case of 1950, it is approximately a 50-percent sample. For 1960 and 1970, the sample is approximately 25 percent. The 1950 sample was taken from the *Biographical Study of Air Force General Officers, 1918-1952*, vol. II. The 1960 and 1970 samples are from the biographical profiles published on each general officer by the Secretary of the Air Force Office of Public Affairs. All materials are found at AFHSO.

By 1970, the full impact of World War II procurement patterns could be seen. By then, the Aviation Cadet program was the major commissioning source of general officers. At the same time, the ROTC representation remained essentially unchanged numerically, but with better representation in the upper two grades, and the OCS, established in late 1941 to produce nonrated officers,

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was now represented. Without exception, the "other" category was composed of officers who received a direct commission.

The shift toward a general officer corps composed of other than academy graduates should not, however, be viewed as the long-term trend, but as a matter of numbers. While over a quarter million World War II Aviation Cadets ultimately produced 54 percent of the general officers in 1970, it took only about two thousand West Point graduates from that same period to produce 34 percent. The preference for academy graduates remained quite strong. In fact, the 1970 figures point to a future general officer corps dominated by Air Force Academy graduates when those graduates have served the number of years necessary to obtain flag rank.

* * * * *

Relying heavily on general officer data, a fairly representative career pattern among those at the highest levels in the Air Force evolved during the generation following World War II. By 1970, the *average* general officer was a rated officer who had obtained his commission from either the Aviation Cadet program or West Point. He had succeeded in his primary skill, that of flying an airplane, and had demonstrated the ability to move up the military bureaucracy to the major air command level, and probably higher. Career broadening, an important consideration in the increasingly complex world of the modern military, had been via assignments outside his primary career field or through attendance at professional military schools, with the former being the most consistent pattern. Most of all, he had commanded a flying unit, thereby allowing him to successfully direct the primary mission of the Air Force.

Chapter Twelve

Two Types of Integration: Gender and Race 1941–1973

Many personnel decisions made immediately after World War II reflected lessons learned during the war. The failure of the prewar legal statutes to produce an acceptable cadre of leadership led to the enactment of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, probably the most important piece of personnel legislation for a generation of officers following the war. The Air Force established career fields, rather than corps, as the best way to manage the many skills needed in a modern military service and, with the exception of legal, chaplain, and medical personnel, grouped all officers into the line officer category where they competed against each other for promotion. The Air Force also set precedents with decisions about the roles of women and racial minorities, especially Black Americans.

The roles of women and blacks in the military had been expanded during the war, a reflection both of political and social changes and an increased willingness on the part of the military to include and use members of the two groups. Women, for the first time, were incorporated in large numbers in jobs outside the traditional role of nursing. Blacks, also for the first time, received flight training and formed combat squadrons, squadrons that saw action in the Mediterranean and European theaters. As in the past, however, blacks were strictly segregated from whites, a policy that limited both professional and social interaction.

The wartime experience with the two groups was sufficiently positive to prompt a reevaluation of personnel policies toward both. That reevaluation led to the easing of former prohibitions and the ultimate incorporation of women and blacks into the permanent Air Force, although determining how that incorporation should take place and the contribution each could make was by no means simple. What emerged was an internal conflict that pitted the pressure for change against traditional military conservatism and limited change in the

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immediate postwar period. It led to policies, both *de jure* and *de facto*, that excessively highlighted gender and race as the determining characteristic of the two groups. These distinctions remained largely intact until the social upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s ushered in an era of further change, and describing the two groups in traditional terms—career fields, rank, assignments, promotions, and even officer or enlisted—was difficult at best.

The Separate World of Women in the Air Force

The use of women by the American military on a formal basis began in 1901 with the establishment of the Army Nurse Corps. The move was in response to criticism of the medical care given the wounded during the Spanish American War. Army nurses were formed into a military organization, but they had no military rank and received pay and benefits below those of military men. After World War I, nurses received military rank and some retirement benefits, but not until 1944 did the members of the Nurse Corps receive compensation and benefits comparable with other members of the service.¹

During World War I, the Army considered using women as telephone switchboard operators in France, but discarded the idea in favor of using men. Other ideas were considered and rejected, and the war ended with the Army still unable to agree on the use of women in military service. On the other hand, the Navy moved quickly to enlist over five thousand women volunteers to perform clerical duties. All were released as soon as the war ended and the military, other than the nursing profession, reverted to being all male.²

As war clouds gathered in 1940, the United States initiated the first peacetime draft in the nation's history, and pressure began to rise to somehow incorporate women into the defense effort. In May 1940, Congresswoman Edith Rogers introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives calling for the formation of a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). All members of the WAAC would be volunteers and, as the name implied, would be auxiliaries, but not formal members of the Army. The Army Chief of Staff, Gen. George C. Marshall, supported the resolution; but slowed by the press of more urgent matters and Congressional opposition, the WAAC remained only an idea when war broke with full fury on December 7, 1941.³

The WAAC came into existence in May 1942 when General Marshall appointed Oveta Culp Hobby, wife of a former governor of Texas, as its director. Again, the Navy showed itself to be ahead of the Army by establishing the Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES) as an integral part of the service, not as a mere auxiliary. However, in both services, all women were volunteers.

The initial response from American women was much better than expected. Many were merely curious, some were dissatisfied with their civilian lives, but

Col. Oveta Culp Hobby,
first WAAC Director, 1942–1943,
and first WAC Director, 1943–1945.



most were simply caught up in the patriotic fervor that swept the nation following Pearl Harbor. Congress quickly raised the ceiling on WAAC personnel from 12,000 to 63,000 and then to 150,000 to accommodate the unexpected recruitment windfall. The Army was so pleased that it decided in February 1943 to reach the 150,000 ceiling by midsummer. Hobby cautioned against the idea, arguing that the long-term attraction of the military to young women was being vastly overestimated. Ignoring her advice, the Army conducted a crash recruitment campaign that included going door-to-door in some areas. In June the WAAC strength stood at about 60,000, well above the 34,000 on hand at the start of the campaign, but far short of the goal. For the remainder of the war, volunteerism never equaled that of the first few months following the establishment of the WAAC, although the number of women in uniform did increase slowly throughout the conflict.⁴

Hobby's insight into the limits on WAAC recruitment stemmed from her involvement with a problem that the WAAC was already having with its numbers, a problem generated by the status of the women's corps as an auxiliary, *with* but not *within* the military. WAACs wore uniforms distinct from either regular service dress or those worn by Nurse Corps members; received less pay; had different rank designations, such as first leader, auxiliary first class, and second officer; and were free to depart the service any time they wished. In many ways, they were little more than quasi-civilian workers in uniform. Some, particularly those who had joined as a reaction to Pearl Harbor, lost interest when the routine of military life settled in. Some ended up in dull office work not unlike what they had left in civilian life. Still others were attracted by civilian defense industry that offered women lucrative employment opportunities, something that was likely to continue for the duration of the war. By the time the Army undertook its crash recruitment program in February 1943, the number of women departing was already hampering the WAAC's potential contribution to the war effort.⁵

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Rather than lose the service of women, the Army converted the WAAC to the Women's Army Corps (WAC), a full-fledged military organization within the service. In a ninety-day period in the summer of 1943, all WAAC members were given the choice of an honorable discharge or joining the new organization. About 80 percent chose the latter option. As WACs they wore regular military uniforms, drew equal pay, and had the same titles of rank. Most important to the service, they could not merely walk away from the WACs as they could from the WAACs. Oveta Hobby switched from WAAC Director to WAC Director with the rank of colonel.

The transformation of the WAAC into the WAC solved one problem—the exodus of women from service—but it could not solve the lack of acceptance of women in uniform. Early on, Colonel Hobby detected signs that many military men resented military women. In December 1942, a survey conducted at her request showed that the vast majority of military men, particularly enlisted men, would not want their wives, sisters, or girlfriends in uniform. Military women became the objects of male humor, something that surprised no one. At first, the humor was light and relatively inoffensive, focusing on such predictable targets as underwear and anatomy. Soon, however, something far different began to emerge; and by the spring of 1943, military women were the target of what was probably the largest episode of slander during the war. Several slanderous accusations arose, but the main one was that military women were little more than uniformed prostitutes. The slander was so widespread and so vicious that the War Department, under the assumption that it was an enemy effort to lower military morale, asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to investigate.⁶

The FBI soon found that enlisted men, not foreign agents, were the culprits. Sexual jealousy played a part, fueled by the antifraternalization policy that prohibited social contact between officers and enlisted personnel. Enlisted men crossing that line faced stiff penalties, but male officers dating enlisted women seemingly had little fear of punishment. Some enlisted men believed that women made themselves available to male officers as a way of getting preferential treatment. Most of all, men resented women taking noncombat jobs to free men for combat duty. To deal with this aspect of the problem, the Army immediately dropped any reference in its recruitment of women that their presence in uniform released men for combat assignments. The slander diminished as 1943 waned, although its effects lingered throughout the war.⁷

Within a year, women in uniform were numerous enough to no longer attract much attention. At war's end, about 280,000 women, of over twelve million people in uniform, had served in one of the military services. At peak strength in 1945, the WAC numbered slightly over ninety-eight thousand, including fifty-seven hundred officers. Although qualified for duty in over two hundred specialties, the vast majority, almost 65 percent, served in clerical and administrative positions. At any one time, as many as a third served overseas,

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but all were barred from combat assignments. All WAC appointments were temporary (neither Regular or Reserve), valid only until the end of postwar demobilization. Wherever they served and whatever their duties, WAC officers, recruited as specialists and not as leaders, seldom occupied command or staff positions and were prohibited from exercising authority over men. Of the ninety-eight thousand WACs in 1945, about thirty-two thousand (sixteen hundred officers) served in the Army Air Forces under conditions similar to those in the Army at large.⁸

Unlike the Army at large, however, the AAF had a women's unit, albeit an auxiliary, that for a time participated in the service's central mission of flying. The idea that women could shoulder some of the flying load surfaced in 1942 in the form of plans advanced by two well-known female fliers. The proposal of Nancy Harkness Love, instructor pilot and noted aviator, was to form a small group of fully qualified women pilots. This plan offered an immediate pool of pilots with little or no further training necessary. The competing plan, that of Jacqueline Cochran, also a noted aviator, was more ambitious and more expensive. Cochran wanted a much larger number of women pilots, but this meant giving flying training to most of them. Under both plans, the women would ferry aircraft within the continental United States, thereby freeing male pilots for combat assignments.

In August 1943, after a year in which both proposals provided the AAF with pilots, Gen. Henry Arnold, AAF Commanding General, decided in favor of Cochran's plan. Thus was born the Women Auxiliary Service Pilots (WASP) with Jacqueline Cochran as its director. Interest in the WASPs was high, and, unlike the WAAC and WAC experience, stayed that way because the glamour of flying had much the same appeal to young women as to young men. Over 25,000 women took the WASP screening examinations, about 1,800 were selected for training, and 1,074 graduated. They flew virtually every type of aircraft in the AAF inventory, usually from factories to stateside bases or to embarkation airfields. Male pilots flew them overseas, because, by order of General Arnold, no WASP ever ferried aircraft overseas. In December 1944, when the number of male pilots became sufficient to absorb the ferry mission, the organization disbanded. In this brief time, the WASPs delivered over twelve thousand aircraft, but, unfortunately, thirty-seven WASP pilots died in crashes.⁹

By December 1946, sixteen months after Japan's surrender, the number of WACs had plummeted to approximately ninety-six hundred, including twelve hundred officers. The WAC, like other wartime expedients, faced termination after demobilization, but the AAF was already working to keep that from happening. Believing that the World War II experience had validated a future role for women, the Air Staff had by April 1946 drawn up a plan for a women's contingent numbering some twenty-six hundred in the independent Air Force. The Air Board approved the idea with little discussion, and in October 1946, two hundred fifty Regular billets were set aside for female officers.¹⁰

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Once the national emergency was over, however, a majority of Congressmen took a narrow view of women in uniform. The Navy wanted women only in its Regular establishment, while the Army and Air Force favored women in both the Regular and Reserve components. Nonetheless, Congress seemed intent on authorizing only Reserve status. The issue remained in doubt well into 1948, with some senior Air Force officers virtually giving up on women in the Regular component.¹¹

Gradually, however, the reluctant Congressmen grew to understand the contradiction of a Reserve component without a Regular cadre, which would have denied the Reservists a nucleus around which mobilization could take place. Much of the credit for the change in attitude went to Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine), who used her position on the Senate Armed Services Committee to slow legislation until the efforts of the military establishment, including a letter-writing campaign by Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, could affect Congressional attitudes. In April 1948, the enabling legislation was passed, although it took a good deal of maneuvering to prepare a bill agreeable to both houses. Two months later, President Truman signed Public Law 625, 80th Congress (PL 80-625), the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948, providing for the first time a role for American women in the peacetime military outside the Nurse Corps.¹² (Appendix 6 contains selected extracts of PL 80-625 germane to the Air Force.)

PL 80-625 provided for women in the Regular component of the Navy and in both the Regular and Reserve components of the Army and Air Force. The Army placed the WAC in a separate corps, just as it had been in World War II, but since the Air Force had abandoned the corps system as a basic structure, it established the Women in the Air Force (WAF) in, not a corps, but, for lack of a better term, a separate category.¹³

All WAFs, officer and enlisted, were governed by the rules of their respective career fields, the same as men, but with some major distinctions. PL 80-625 mandated lieutenant colonel as the highest permanent rank for female officers, with a maximum of 10 percent in that grade, but women in the ranks of major and lieutenant colonel could serve two to three years longer than male officers before mandatory retirement. The law provided that no more than 2 percent of the regular establishment could be female. As in World War II, women were barred from combat assignments, and each of the military services was allowed a single temporary female colonel. In the Air Force, the WAF Director was the temporary colonel, but reverted to her previous, and lower, rank at the end of that assignment. Geraldine P. May, a graduate of the first WAAC commissioning class in 1942, was appointed the first Director of the WAF in June 1948. She served until June 1951 before resigning to pursue a civilian business career.¹⁴

Beyond the statutes governing all military women, PL 80-625 authorized the Defense Department and the individual services to establish still other rules

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and regulations for their female members. That led to an important decision based on social roles. The Defense Department's official position was a very traditional one: men were the providers, while the primary social function of women was childbearing. Subsequent departmental policies were in line with that position. Although military women could marry, they could be discharged at the discretion of their parent service for having children eighteen years old or younger, unless they requested and received a waiver. In the case of the Air Force, the rule was ironclad: no waivers. Women were automatically discharged after becoming pregnant or assuming responsibility for dependents less than eighteen years of age. Further, all WAFs getting married could apply for separation, a request that was usually granted if the requestor had served at least one year.¹⁵

Interestingly, the ban on minor children was a departure from the World War II policy when women with dependents served as WACs—Colonel Hobby, the WAC Director in World War II, was the mother of two. The pressure of the wartime emergency had created a flexible attitude toward dependent children, but the absence of similar pressure in the postwar era led to a flat prohibition. The Air Force policy forced the discharge of women with minor children, some who had served continuously since during the war, even though some senior officers believed that it betrayed the trust of loyal and able people.¹⁶

A second major internal Air Force policy toward women involved the duties to which they could be assigned. Women's opportunities were very limited, despite attempts in 1946 and 1947 to break the World War II mold and use women in a wider range of skills. An effort to build on the WASP experience and incorporate women into the pilot force to fly aircraft on missions that did not involve combat gained some support, principally that of Brig. Gen. Thomas Power, the Assistant Director of Plans, but it was ultimately rejected. Many senior officers doubted that women could handle the newer generation of jet aircraft, and, besides, the Air Force had a glut of male pilots following the war. Although the official position stated that the use of women, officer or enlisted, would be limited only by physical limitations and proximity to combat, the great majority were destined for clerical and administration positions, just as in World War II.¹⁷

In a third major internal decision, even after adopting career fields as the personnel management tool for officers, the Air Force, in fact, administered women as a separate entity. WAF officers, although line officers, were not considered for promotion with men, a policy that continued until 1965. At base level, women were assigned to WAF squadrons, but were parceled out to other units for duty in whatever might be their specialty. Wherever they worked, WAFs were under the authority of the WAF squadron commander, a female officer, for most administrative matters, including discipline. Women had their real chance at positions of responsibility only within this separate chain of command since they did not, as a rule, have authority over men. The arrange-

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Col. Geraldine P. May, first Director
of the Women in the Air Force,
1948-1951.

ment offended officers accustomed to a single chain of command, but, given the times, it probably eased the entry of women into a world not entirely reconciled to their presence—indeed, entry into a world where their services in peacetime previously had been neither needed nor wanted. Betraying their own sense of uneasiness, as well as a streak of conservatism, most WAF officers supported the arrangement as a means of preserving a feminine identity in an overwhelmingly masculine world.¹⁸

The first steps toward integrating women into the Air Force's fabric began in 1948. Although the provisions of PL 80-625 provided for about seven thousand WAFs, with four hundred officers, the service imposed an interim ceiling of forty-three hundred, with three hundred officers, until June 1950. The restrictions were probably to gauge the full impact of the postwar changes before fully manning the WAF, undoubtedly the component with the least priority.¹⁹

Since PL 80-625 specified that the female active duty force would serve purely as a nucleus around which mobilization could take place, most active duty WAF officers would have Regular commissions. Those commissions, as in the case of men, were competitive. Since, in 1948, no women as yet wore Air Force uniforms, the first competition for WAF officers was opened to any woman who had held a commission in any of the military services. Only 409 applied, an early indication that attracting women to military service in the postwar era might prove difficult. The first selections were made in December 1948, and by June 1950, 211 women, of a WAF officer corps of 303, held Regular billets.²⁰ (Appendix 7 contains the WAF strength figures for the period of this study.)

In an important conjunction of two historical events, the Korean War began in the very month that the WAF ended its interim status. The timing meant that the war had a major effect on the direction that this integration would take. As

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a part of the buildup in military strength, women Reservists in all the military services were recalled to active duty and the recruitment quotas for enlisted women increased sharply. To stem the numbers leaving the Air Force, women who wished to get married were no longer automatically discharged at their request, but each request was considered on a case-by-case basis.²¹

Initially, women responded well to the new call to the colors, so well, in fact, that the Defense Department ordered a recruitment campaign to significantly increase the number of women in all the military services. In May 1951, the Air Force responded with a campaign designed to boost WAF strength to forty-eight thousand, more than a tenfold increase, within a year. Monthly enlisted recruitment quotas jumped from less than five hundred in May to seventeen hundred the following month. Increased direct commissioning of individuals with badly needed skills supplemented WAF officer procurement from OCS, which had been limited almost exclusively to a fixed number in each class. Two months after the Air Force started its drive, the Defense Department announced similar programs to greatly increase the number of women in the other services as well.²²

The whole episode was reminiscent of the ill-fated recruitment drive of 1943 in its ambition and, ultimately, in its failure. Once the very brief surge of volunteerism passed, civilian women showed little interest in military service. Korea did not command the same national effort as had the previous conflict, and a strong economy offered much better paying jobs than the military offered. Fathers, boyfriends, husbands, and men in general still opposed women in uniform, fearing that military life fostered immorality and made women less feminine. There was also the persuasive feeling that if the military really wanted women, they would be drafted.²³

Many women who did sign up found little job satisfaction and few advancement opportunities in the limited number of specialties open to them. The number in the Air Force who indicated that they planned to get out as soon as possible soared to an disastrous 73 percent. The attitude toward separation for marriage was soon relaxed, and women increasingly asked for discharge as soon as they became engaged. By 1954, over 80 percent of the women leaving service did so for reasons of marriage or pregnancy. The number of enlisted women leaving active duty grew so large that senior officers questioned whether using them on the Air Staff could be justified based on the efficient use of personnel.²⁴

The strength of the WAF during the Korean War never reached thirteen thousand, much less forty-eight thousand, and recruiters had to sign up marginal applicants to achieve even that figure. The other services suffered similar recruitment failures, bringing into question the whole idea of women in the permanent establishment. Defense Department efforts to provide increased promotion opportunities for women officers, including general officer billets, were dropped. The Air Force had been lukewarm about these efforts and also

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turned down a proposal to open observer training to women. In the summer of 1953, the Air Force began a reassessment of the entire WAF program.²⁵

The Air Force's program had failed to attract enough applicants to make any measurable impact on personnel requirements and showed little promise of doing so in the future. Maintaining suitable quarters and uniform stocks for such small numbers made the WAF relatively expensive. The high attrition rate among enlisted women, about 24 percent per year, increased the expense further.²⁶

The Air Staff examined two possible roles for women: a small, highly qualified cadre as a mobilization nucleus only (the original plan for the WAF) and a small personnel supplement with somewhat lower standards for entry. The final recommendation incorporated portions of both, but leaned toward the first role. The WAF was retained to offer women a place in the defense effort and to provide a nucleus for any future mobilization. Entry standards remained at a high level, but at the expense of the overall size of the WAF, which by 1956 had decreased to a "token" force of perhaps six thousand, compared to the total force of almost nine hundred thousand, as studies indicated that volunteers could be secured to sustain that number. Women were grouped in only five of the thirteen major air commands to ensure sufficient numbers to form WAF Squadrons, apparently no thought given to increasing the attractiveness of military service by expanding career opportunities.²⁷

In January 1954, Col. Mary Shelly, who replaced Geraldine May as WAF Director in June 1951, resigned to return to her former post as special assistant to the President of Bennington College.* In her final report she explored some of the implications for the WAF in its reduced state. She acknowledged that civilian women showed little interest in the military and agreed that a force of six thousand was appropriate, but she questioned the WAF's status within the overall service. The WAF had always been a peripheral organization, but as a token force, WAFs clearly could expect little effort to better integrate them into the overall service structure. Thus, WAFs were perennial outsiders who had to prove themselves in each new assignment and do so without any real assistance from a service whose commitment to them did not extend much beyond maintaining a certain quantitative level.²⁸

To Shelly, WAF officers would suffer because they had so little room for career progression. Once a WAF officer achieved the rank of major, she would find her opportunities for positions of responsibility limited almost entirely to the small WAF hierarchy since, traditionally, women did not supervise men. Shelly urged that the status of WAF officers be redefined to provide enhanced career opportunities including supervisory and command opportunities outside of traditional boundaries.²⁹ She might have buttressed her argument by noting

* During World War II, Colonel Shelly had been a Navy Commander, in charge of training women for that service.

Col. Mary J. Shelly,
Director, WAF,
1951–1954.



that even the WAF Director had no command authority, but served merely as an advisor to the Chief of Staff on personnel matters.

Subsequent events largely validated Colonel Shelly's observations, but they were overshadowed by the truce in Korea and a sizable reduction in force that followed. This combination struck the WAF a heavy blow. By the middle of 1954, the WAF had less than 10,000 in uniform, down from a high of almost 13,000 in 1952. WAF officer strength dropped from 1,023 to 771 in a matter of months. The sharply declining figures were the first indications of the strength problems the WAF would endure for the next decade, a decade during which sheer numbers would be the overwhelming concern as the WAF literally fought for its existence.

The first attempt to shore up the struggling program came in December 1954. Alarmed at the downward trend, Col. Phyllis Gray, who succeeded Mary Shelly as WAF Director, intervened. She argued the major commands could use more women, if available, and that at least 8,300 enlisted women and 908 officers were needed for the WAF to meet its obligations. Echoing the concern voiced earlier by Colonel Shelly, she noted that the larger numbers would hopefully allow the use of women in a wider spectrum of duties, breaking out of the mold that was hampering career opportunities. Gray's proposal was endorsed by Maj. Gen. Morris Lee, Director of Personnel Planning, and approved by Lt. Gen. Emmett O'Donnell, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel.³⁰

The first concern was WAF officer strength, already well below the minimum desired level. The three procurement programs for women—OCS, Reservists recalled to active duty (all of whom had to be volunteers), and direct appointments—met only 30 percent of the objective in fiscal year 1954. The shortfall focused attention on the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps, the only other program where women might obtain a commission. AFROTC had the advantage of being in direct contact with college women, who were the best

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educated and the most likely to defy social constraints and join the military; the law, however, limited participation in ROTC to men. The Air Force joined the other services in drafting a Defense Department legislative proposal to allow women in the program, but because enactment appeared to be years away, the Air Force set about to circumvent the law with an "interim" arrangement.³¹

Under a plan developed in 1955, women could attend basic (freshman and sophomore) AFROTC and progress into the advanced (junior and senior) level with a recommendation from their instructors. Women already in their junior year entered directly into advanced AFROTC if their professors, the dean of women, and a board of officers recommended them. Either way, acceptance into the advanced courses was contingent on enlisting in the Air Force Reserves and agreeing to spend three years on active duty after commissioning. Because the governing legal statutes made no provisions for women, they were not officially members of AFROTC, did not receive college credit for their work in the program, and their commissions were direct appointments and not through AFROTC. The overall program bore the title of WAF ROTC, and those in the program were unofficially known as "cadettes."³²

Women entered AFROTC detachments at ten colleges in September 1956. The Air Force tapped its already meager resources by assigning a WAF officer for each detachment to administer the WAF ROTC as an entity distinct from the main portion of the program. Despite its unfairness (expecting women to attend classes for no credit and without official status) and its small scale, officials optimistically predicted that WAF ROTC would be supplying the Air Force with one hundred officers annually within a few years.³³

WAF ROTC got off to a very shaky start when only fifty-four enrolled, including nineteen who entered the advanced course. The weak response immediately raised the issue of expense, especially the use of ten WAF officers for such a tiny program. More bad news came in early 1957 when the Defense Department abruptly dropped its effort to amend the legal statutes barring women from ROTC. The Air Force suddenly found itself with a tiny, "interim" program that was not only expensive, but also was a program that had virtually no high-level support.³⁴

Skeptical that WAF ROTC could survive in this form, Maj. Gen. T. C. Rogers, AFROTC Commandant, recommended that an additional thirty-five colleges where interest among women students appeared high immediately be added to the program. He saw no reason why a female officer had to administer the WAF ROTC program, arguing that the usual detachment staff could perform those duties. His recommendations were not approved, an indication that Air Force support was already on the wane.³⁵

In academic year 1957-58, due to a lack of interest, the Air Force removed two colleges from the program, including one that had attracted no applicants at all, added two others to keep the total at ten, but made no major changes. Fifty-nine women enrolled, an increase of five, but the number in the advanced

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course declined to eighteen. In June 1958, four cadettes finished WAF ROTC and received direct commissions. In academic year 1958-59, enrollment rose to ninety, but, in what proved to be the fatal blow, the number in advanced courses fell to only eleven.³⁶

Unable to justify the expense any longer, Secretary of the Air Force James Douglas ordered WAF ROTC canceled immediately at those colleges with no advanced enrollment. Those detachments with women in the advanced program continued WAF ROTC only until all had graduated. A last-minute plea by the Air University, the parent command of AFROTC, that the program be given more time to prove itself was rejected. WAF ROTC ended in June 1960, having produced only six officers.³⁷

In the meantime, graduates from OCS, the primary commissioning program for women, were far below the minimum needed. Attrition among women was high, exceeding 70 percent in some classes. Educational requirements for OCS were lowered, from the possession of a college degree to only two years of college for women entering from the civilian world, while enlisted women needed only a high school diploma. A letter to over five hundred college presidents asked their help in publicizing OCS and the Air Force as a possible career for young women. Finally, women competed only against other women for entry into the program. Nothing helped, and OCS production declined from thirty-two in fiscal year 1956, to twenty in fiscal year 1957, and, finally, to seven in fiscal year 1958.³⁸

The failure of OCS and WAF ROTC to attract applicants left the service with two options for procuring WAF officers: to recall Reserve officers and to make direct appointments. In the case of Reservists, so few volunteered, perhaps twenty annually, that recalling them only amounted to a procurement supplement, and a small one at that. Only the direct appointment program, which furnished two hundred fifty officers between fiscal year 1957 and fiscal year 1960, provided the numbers that kept the badly understrength WAF officer corps from sinking even further.³⁹

Unfortunately, direct appointment was the least desirable source for new officers. The women from this program, all coming directly from civilian life, owed their commissions entirely to the skills they possessed. Their only contact with the military prior to commissioning was a very brief period of training that taught them the basics of military life, such as saluting, uniform wear, and marching. Once in the service, many failed to demonstrate other qualities desirable in officers, notably emotional stability and leadership. Had they gone through a commissioning program that afforded a longer period of evaluation, many would have been eliminated for such deficiencies. Moreover, the direct appointments could be at any rank up to captain, depending on the appointee's skills and years of experience, which caused resentment among officers who had worked for years to reach the rank held by some direct appointees the day they arrived on active duty.⁴⁰

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In mid-1959, WAF officer procurement underwent yet another major change. All direct appointment ceased, an acknowledgement of the qualitative problems with that program, and entry of women into OCS would henceforth be entirely from the enlisted ranks. The number of women attracted to OCS from civilian life had been too small and their attrition rate too high to continue their procurement. Civilian women with baccalaureate degrees could now enter the new Officer Training School, a brief twelve-week course designed specifically to attract college graduates, male and female. In a major difference from men, no applications from married women were accepted. Again, however, the response was disappointing. Of the 572 applicants for the first OTS class, scheduled to begin in early November 1959, only 21 were women. So few women applied for the second class that none were accepted. Only 20 were commissioned through OTS in fiscal year 1960.⁴¹

Looking back on the 1950s, it was little short of miraculous that the WAF survived the numerical shortages of the times. Apathy, even disapproval, still marked the public's attitude toward women in uniform. This attitude was especially evident in the failure of WAF ROTC to attract more than a handful of applicants from among college women, a group whose education and relative independence made them seem, at least initially, to be a good source. Within the service, very few enlisted women had any interest in a commission or even an interest in the military beyond the immediate future. Most wanted to serve no more than one tour of active duty and then look for better employment or perhaps enter college. In particular, they wished to get married and start families, a goal that fit well in the larger society, where twenty was the median age for a woman to first marry. Into the mid-1960s, enlisted attrition routinely topped 20 percent every year.⁴²

Among officers, the picture at the end of the 1950s was different, although not much brighter. WAF officers were well educated; almost 75 percent had at least a baccalaureate degree, about twice the percentage of male officers. Some were employed in jobs more suited for more junior officers; yet most, surprisingly, expressed job satisfaction. Attrition was not the severe problem that plagued enlisted women, one reason why the procurement failures of the 1950s had not destroyed the WAF officer corps. However, so few WAF officers showed an interest in Regular commissions, and by implication military careers, that by 1956 only 167 held Regular billets, down from over 200 in 1950. The lack of new Regular officers had so badly distorted the rank structure that by 1957 about 75 percent of Regular WAF officers held permanent field-grade billets. In the massive augmentation into the Regular ranks that began in 1958, only 200 women were among the almost 60,000 Reserve officers who applied for a Regular commission. The augmentation did raise the number of Regular WAF officers to more than 200 (of a commissioned strength of about 700), but both figures were insignificant in an overall Regular cadre approaching 55,000 and an officer corps well over 100,000.⁴³

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Because of the protracted force reduction that began in 1957, the WAF program faced termination twice in the next four years, a penalty for being a tiny, poorly utilized, token program. The first time, in 1958, Col. Emma Riley, the WAF Director, successfully argued that most WAF personnel held billets that would not be eliminated, thereby forcing the service to put men in them. Eliminating the WAF would, therefore, do little to reduce the size of the force. She did, however, agree to a reduction in strength to five thousand as the WAFs' share of the overall force reduction.⁴⁴

The second attempt to eliminate the WAF, in 1961, took a different turn than the first. Since the WAF rested on a statutory foundation (PL 80-625) one of the first Air Force moves was to query Representative Carl Vinson, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, about possible Congressional reaction. Vinson's reply was so strongly negative that the idea was dropped, as was an alternative suggestion that the WAF enlisted force be reduced to only fifteen hundred.⁴⁵

Vinson's response was an early hint that the 1960s were going to bring great changes in the role of women in American society. In part, the changes were driven by pressures in the work place. In 1940, the number of men of working age exceeded women of the same age by more than a million; but by 1965, over three million more women than men were available. In 1940, only about 25 percent of the work force had been female, but by 1965, the figure was over 40 percent, and rising. Hidden in the last statistic was a more independent female, the married woman who helped provide for the family. In 1965, over half of married women worked, more than double the figure for the previous generation. Combined, these factors forced women to seek work in what had previously been considered nontraditional fields.⁴⁶

Pressure for change was also building within the government. In 1961, the Kennedy administration established a commission on the status of women and recommended expanded opportunities for women in both federal service and the public sector. In 1963 and 1964, presidential commissions studied the feasibility of ending or reducing the draft through increased compensation and an expanded recruitment base, with greater and better use of women in the military one of the areas considered. In 1965, the Office of the Secretary of the Air Force recommended doubling that the size of the WAF force and changing policies to reflect an increased awareness of the role of women. The following year, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Thomas D. Morris, asked the Air Force to consider raising WAF strength to 10,000, with 930 officers. These pronouncements had no effect because they were only suggestions or queries and not policy decisions, and the Air Force's attitude toward women remained one of indifference.⁴⁷

In 1961, the retirement of WAF officers who had served since World War II prompted an increase in the OTS production objective to 100 yearly, but only to sustain, and not to increase, the number of WAF officers. When only 95

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Col. Emma J. Riley,
Director, WAF,
1957-1961.

women earned their commissions through OTS in the next two years combined, it caused no great concern and nor prompted the generation of plans to correct the shortfall. In fiscal year 1963, the OTS began to attract more qualified female applicants than the objective, another early hint that appreciable numbers of women might be considering the military as a possible career. OTS and the soon-to-be-terminated OCS supplied 116 female second lieutenants that year, probably the first time that WAF officer procurement objectives were met. The increased procurement, however, could do no more than offset the number of WAF officers retiring from service, so the overall total remained virtually unchanged into the late 1960s. The WAF enlisted force fared less well, reaching its low point, numerically, in 1965 with only 4,700 members.⁴⁸

Not until 1967 did the Air Force make a firm commitment to increase WAF strength and to do so despite the reluctance of the major commanders to use additional women. The increased numbers of women willing to work in nontraditional roles and the rise of the feminist movement with its demands for equality in the work place influenced the Air Force, but, most of all, the service was reacting to administration pressure arising from the Vietnam War.

Faced with extending the Selective Service Act for another two years, the Johnson administration undertook a number of major initiatives to reduce the draft's impact and thereby gain Congressional support. The President personally asked for better pay and more benefits for service personnel and their dependents as a way of encouraging volunteerism. Some 114,000 military jobs that did not involve combat were shifted to civil service, and under a one-time program, the military was ordered to accept large numbers of men who would have been unqualified for service under earlier standards. Finally, in November 1967, the administration successfully orchestrated the passage of Public Law 130, 90th Congress (PL 90-130) that removed the restrictions on the number of women in the Regular service and on the rank they could hold.⁴⁹

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The immediate purpose of PL 90-130 was political (to reduce the draft), but its long-term impact was to mark the beginning of a new era for women in the American military. The individual services, caught off guard by a policy forced on them from above, had to deal with the implications of that policy and determine how to achieve its objectives. In January 1969, the Air Force's goal for the WAF enlisted force in 1974 was set at 13,700. To meet the correspondingly larger demand for officers, OTS was ordered to more than double the number of female graduates. Setting WAF quotas, both officer and enlisted, was nothing new, but pressure from above now mandated a formal commitment to meeting those quotas, rather than just accepting whatever shortfall occurred. To increase WAF officers, officials took the important additional step of ordering a small number of AFROTC units, on a trial basis, to accept women. Since the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964 included women, anyone signing up would be a full-fledged member rather than an auxiliary as in the short-lived cadette program of the 1950s. Furthermore, any WAF officers produced by AFROTC were not part of the OTS goal.⁵⁰

Events in 1969 and subsequent years showed that, despite its low prestige during the Vietnam War, the military, or at least the Air Force, held an attraction for young women seeking careers. WAF officer strength stood at 1,300 and the enlisted ranks numbered 12,600 by the end of 1972, well ahead of the schedule to meet the figures programmed for 1974. OTS had no problem meeting, and even exceeding, its procurement objectives. In AFROTC, over 500 enrolled the first year, almost ten times the response to the cadette program when it first opened in 1956. By 1972, all AFROTC detachments accepted women, and over 1,800 were in the program. The response was so great that plans for the WAF were expanded to 50,000 (3,300 officers) to be reached by mid-1978.⁵¹

Paralleling the numerical growth of the WAF were the policy changes aimed at removing women from the fringes and better integrating them into the overall life of the service. Much of this potentially difficult transition came during the tenure of Col. Jeanne M. Holm as WAF Director (November 1965 to February 1973). Holm, who retired in 1975, began her military career in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps in 1943. She was the first female officer to attend the Air Command and Staff College, the service's intermediate professional school (1952); and she was the Air Force's first female permanent colonel (1968), first female general officer (1971), and first female major general (1973). Articulate, forceful, and convinced that women could contribute more toward national defense, she was the right officer to manage the WAF during this critical period.

Integral to Holm's success in breaking down the barriers to women was her willingness to challenge Air Force policies she considered obsolete or unfair. After a protracted effort, she got WAFs assigned to duty at Tan Son Nhut Air Base near Saigon in April 1967, even though the entire country was designated

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Col. Jeanne M. Holm,
Director, WAF,
1965-1973.

a combat zone. When the enemy mounted the Tet offensive in January 1968, both the Seventh Air Force and Pacific Air Forces Commanders requested that the women be withdrawn, but, in a precedent-setting decision, their requests were denied by Gen. John P. McConnell, the Chief of Staff. Holm's role in that decision is not clear from the record, but the language used in denying the request to remove them—that women were now being integrated fully into the service—was verbatim the argument she used in getting women assigned to Vietnam in the first place.⁵²

In 1968, Holm began the delicate task of getting the service to moderate its policy toward dependents. Although women had always been able to request a waiver allowing them to have dependent children, the Air Force had consistently discharged pregnant WAFs and denied permission to those wishing to adopt a child. Holm questioned that policy on the grounds that it unfairly forced women to choose between the military and motherhood, and in doing so, cost the Air Force the service of highly qualified personnel. The choice, she argued, should be up to the individuals whose shoulders carried the responsibilities for the dependents and for performing their military duties. Besides, military men, even single fathers, were not required to prove that dependents did not interfere with their military responsibilities.⁵³

Holm succeeded. In 1970, the service provided for maternity leave and greatly modified its policy toward dependents. Pregnant WAFs could ask to be discharged, just as before, but those who wished could request a waiver that allowed them to remain on active duty. Unlike earlier, the waiver was approved in the overwhelming majority of cases. Fragmentary evidence indicates that less than 20 percent of those eligible asked for a waiver in 1970, but that the percentage increased as time passed. Still another option granted a year's unpaid leave of absence to pregnant WAFs, after which they could return to active duty in their same grade.⁵⁴

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The other major policy change during the period was the removal of almost all restrictions on the jobs women could hold. In 1967, official Air Force policy restricted women to about a third of the skills spectrum, but tradition still limited them largely to clerical and administrative positions. Workable so long as WAF strength was negligible, these restrictions could not be imposed on a group that numbered almost 10 percent of the total force. By 1972, in a remarkable reversal, only about 2 percent of all positions, those billets designated specifically as combat related, were for men only.⁵⁵

While Colonel Holm is largely responsible for opening career fields to women, a good deal of credit should also go to Lt. Gen. Robert Dixon, who, whatever his personal feelings, accepted the fact that WAFs were destined to play an increased role and that policies had to change accordingly. While Commander of the United States Air Force Military Personnel Center in the late 1960s, he helped persuade General McConnell not to withdraw WAFs from Vietnam during the Tet Offensive. After becoming Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel in 1970, Dixon revoked the prerogative of major commanders to arbitrarily exclude women from certain jobs, something that Holm had been advocating for some time. Instead, he required those practicing exclusion to convince him on a case-by-case basis that they were making the right decision, something that proved to be most difficult and helped bring about a revolution in assignment policies.⁵⁶

Beyond the policy changes, there remained an even more complex problem: the attitude of men toward the rather sudden increase in the size of the WAF and its movement from the fringes of the Air Force to a more nearly equal status. Most male airmen had never faced the possibility that they must compete with women for jobs and promotions or serve under their supervision. Getting men to accept this new reality meant overcoming deeply ingrained attitudes about women and their place in the military.

The policy changes of the late 1960s and early 1970s did not attempt to alter the reality that women were different from men and, therefore, entitled to their own identities. Senior WAF officers had made that clear since the late 1940s, and newspaper articles in the 1950s and 1960s reflected that feeling. An article in 1956, for example, noted that WAF training emphasized "women, ladies, femininity—without neglecting drill and ceremony, traditions and courtesies, inspections, leadership, etc." While another in 1969 stated that "WAF training emphasizes femininity" (1969). Even as she challenged many of the policies toward the WAF, Colonel Holm approved a new syllabus that provided sixteen hours of instruction on cosmetics and beauty aids to women in basic training, something the service had been doing since at least 1953. What men, and perhaps women too, had to understand was that femininity was not a bar to individual competence any more than masculinity was a guarantee of it.⁵⁷

To achieve that goal, certain Air Force policies and practices that unnecessarily, and unfairly, highlighted sexual differences had to be addressed.

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For example, both men and women had weight standards they were expected to meet, but men sometimes were allowed to ignore those standards. While the heaviest man in the Air Force, at 385 pounds, received favorable coverage in the *Air Force Times*, the service's semiofficial newspaper, officials fretted continually about too many WAFs being overweight, and a lieutenant colonel was dropped from consideration for WAF Director due to a weight problem. In the 1970s, the standards toward weight did not change; what changed was that men, as well as women, were expected to meet the standards.⁵⁸

An emphasis on some aspects of femininity, however, undercut WAFs and lowered their status as contributors to the service. Until at least 1966, attractive WAF applicants received preferential treatment in the selection process, and the use of attractive women as window dressing in the offices of senior officers was a time-honored tradition. Two other time-honored military traditions, sexual humor, some of it rather explicit for the day, and pinups, were much in evidence in the *Air Force Times* in the late 1940s. With the exception of a brief return in the early 1960s, the humor had disappeared by the end of the Korean War, but pinups, sometimes featuring willing WAFs, continued into the early 1970s. In addition, those WAFs with curvaceous contours had opportunities to win such titles as "Miss Lackland Air Force Base," "Miss Air Power," or "Miss Ground Safety." A "Queen of OCS" reigned over the program's graduation dance until sometime in the mid-1950s, but all the WAF "beauty queens" disappeared from publications during the 1960s.⁵⁹

One obvious manifestation of the WAF's lower status was the policy regarding participation in color guards. By regulation, women were prohibited from serving in honor guards because they were forbidden to bear arms. Besides, their presence there was believed to lessen the honor due the colors, humiliate male airmen, and subject everyone to ridicule. For a purely WAF function, women could form a "color escort" that did not include bearing of arms. This was apparently the policy of all the military services into the 1970s.⁶⁰

This type of thinking carried over into the all-important area of officer promotions. Until 1965, WAF officers were selected by different boards than men, with an entirely different selection quota. Fragmentary evidence from the early 1960s shows that, while male officers competing for permanent lieutenant colonel enjoyed at least an 80-percent selection opportunity, women had no better than a 20-percent chance; frequently not even that. After 1965, WAF officers began competing for promotions against men, but promotion rates remained low, as did the number of women selected for Regular commissions. Much of the problem came from the low quality of some of the women commissioned in the 1950s, and officials, including Colonel Holm, were confident that the records of WAF officers would improve, making them more competitive. In 1969, when that did not happen, she launched an investigation.⁶¹

An examination of over seven hundred WAF officer efficiency reports, which was the basic tool used in promotions, special assignments, and tendering

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Regular commissions, found few remarks that reflected unfavorably on duty performance. On the other hand, about 20 percent had remarks, all written by men, that, while positive, carried negative connotations. Examples included: "She is the picture of efficient femininity," "she is indeed a lady at all times," "Lieutenant X is one of the few outstanding WAF officers in the Air Force," "Lieutenant X's status as the only WAF officer on base creates difficulties which would disturb a less well integrated person," and "I would not hesitate to place her in any position to which a lady officer could be assigned." Remarks of this type were probably intended to be complimentary, but the implicit message conveyed was that, among other weaknesses, women caused problems, expected special treatment, were ill-suited for military life, and were automatically limited in their effectiveness. Most of all, there was a strong sense that women officers were being, or at least should be, rated against a different, and lower, standard than men. In 1970, gender-oriented remarks in efficiency reports were forbidden.⁶²

Having committed itself to a viable and expanding WAF, the service abolished many former regulations and modified others to bring about that change. That was the quick and easy part. Changing the attitude of Air Force men toward Air Force women would take longer. Decisions made in 1971 gave extra consideration to women facing promotion and Regular officer selection boards in the interest of ensuring a rank structure sufficient to support the WAF of the future. This extra consideration provided only temporary relief and was not an answer. Ultimately, women had to be able to compete on their own merits, and men had to learn to accept that competition as a normal and healthy condition. Achieving that "normal and healthy condition" became one of the more important personnel goals of the Air Force during the 1970s.

Racial Integration: Limited Objectives, Limited Results

With one exception, the many and varied groups who made the journey to North America did so voluntarily and in search of a better life. The exception is black people who were forcibly taken from Africa and enslaved in the new world. Slavery in the United States ended with the Civil War, but an official policy of racial segregation in the American South and discrimination throughout the nation denied Black Americans the full benefits of their liberation from bondage.

For many years, conditions in the military were no better, and perhaps worse, than in the rest of society. Blacks served in the American military virtually from the founding of the nation, although pre-Civil War policies placed severe limitations on their participation. During the Civil War, the Army began raising black regiments, but with white officers, and a policy of racial segregation prevailed for almost a century thereafter. During World War I, the

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Air Service, the Air Corps' predecessor, excluded blacks entirely in the belief that they were unfit for aviation duty, an exclusion that remained the official Air Corps policy for over twenty years after the war ended.

The federal government's policy began to change in 1939 when Congress ordered the Air Corps to accept blacks into the Civilian Pilot Training Program (CPTP), a program designed to provide a cadre of trained pilots should the country suddenly be plunged into war. The first year, almost one hundred black pilots completed the course of training, but the Air Corps refused to accept any of them. Air Corps policy remained as before: whites and blacks could not be integrated and there were no plans to create segregated units. Nevertheless, the CPTP was an important first step. During the course of World War II, over two thousand blacks completed CPTP, and most of those who eventually became AAF pilots got at least a part of their training in that way.⁶³

More far-reaching changes came during the presidential election of 1940, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt found his campaign hampered by an economic depression that had not yet completely run its course, controversy over his attempt for a third term, and an isolationist backlash against policies that favored the British in the war that had started the previous September. For the first time in a presidential election, he faced a serious challenge from the Republican candidate (in 1940, Wendell Wilkie). To strengthen his standing among minority voters, the president made a number of campaign promises, including one to establish black flying units in the Air Corps. Following his election victory, Roosevelt ordered the formation of the all-black 99th Fighter Squadron (Separate) with ground personnel only. To furnish the rated personnel for the new unit, pilot training began at Tuskegee Institute, a black college near Montgomery, Alabama. Chief among the first trainees was Capt. (later Lt. Gen.) Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., the first of his race to graduate from West Point in this century and the son of the first black general in American military history. Although the Tuskegee school was beset with chronic racial tensions, ranging from outright hostility from the local civilian population to black resentment at the all-white staff, over nine hundred pilots graduated by the end of the war.⁶⁴

After the United States entered World War II, the AAF agreed to take a percentage of blacks, but could find few ways to employ them productively. Almost 85 percent scored in the lowest two (of five) categories on the classification examinations, the result of poor educations, economic deprivation, and cultural poverty. Many served in racially segregated Aviation Squadrons, performing manual labor under the supervision of white officers. Others ended up in segregated supply, medical, or transportation units, also supervised by white officers. A limited number received training through normal schools as navigators, bombardiers, and nonrated officers where, unlike the Tuskegee program, the actual training was integrated, although living and dining accommodations for the races were separate. At no time did the number of black officers exceed 1,500 (of a total of over 380,000), and, as a matter of policy, none commanded



Tuskegee Airmen

Cadets stand inspection by their planes (top); ceremonies initiating training at Tuskegee Institute (right); members of the first graduating class and their instructor (below).



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white subordinates. The only organizations with black officers in positions of responsibility were the segregated flying units.⁶⁵

With the United States in the war, officials were in a quandary over how to use the 99th Fighter Squadron once it achieved combat-ready status. Many senior military and government officials viewed flight training for blacks as a politically motivated experiment, an experiment that was likely to fail. These same officials questioned whether blacks had the capability to lead and were skeptical that blacks could perform a combat role. Accordingly, the AAF considered converting the 99th to multiengine aircraft for marine patrol missions from bases on the west coast of Africa, an assignment consistent with the Army policy of assigning the few black officers in its ranks to predominately black nations as military attaches. These plans were scuttled, however, when the invasion of North Africa in November 1942 created a sudden demand for more fighter squadrons.⁶⁶

The 99th, commanded by Lt. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., arrived in Morocco in April 1943. Initially, the unit, inexperienced (no pilot had been rated for more than a year), undermanned, and flying obsolescent aircraft (P-40s), was no match for the battle-hardened Luftwaffe units it faced. Individual pilots fought with skill and courage, but they simply did not have the experience necessary to master the more difficult task of flying and fighting as members of a formation. Losses were high, and the unit failed to destroy a single enemy aircraft in the last half of 1943.⁶⁷

In September 1943, Col. (later, Gen.) William W. Momyer, commander of the 33d Fighter Group of which the 99th was a part, asked that the 99th be withdrawn from combat. He did not believe that the unit had the aggressiveness or desire for combat necessary in a first-rate flying organization. Senior AAF officers, seeing the request as verification of their doubts that blacks could perform in combat, supported Momyer's request. General Arnold also agreed with the recommendation, but, worried about the political implications, asked General Marshall to discuss the matter with the President before reaching a final decision. Instead, Marshall ordered that the 99th be given more time to prove itself.⁶⁸

Subsequent events validated Marshall's decision. In January 1944, the 99th ended its slump by destroying nine aircraft in a single day while supporting the invasion of Italy. Shortly thereafter, the all-black 332d Fighter Group, with Davis as its commander, entered the fray to provide fighter escort for bomber formations attacking targets in Europe. Flying better aircraft (P-51s) and with a cadre of experienced leaders, the 332d acquitted itself well, winning several unit combat decorations and never losing a bomber to enemy fighters. In the process, the unit destroyed over two hundred fifty enemy aircraft, more than six hundred pieces of rolling stock, and approximately forty ships and boats.⁶⁹

The success of the 99th and 332d was in marked contrast to the sad story of the 477th Bombardment Group (M) (Colored). Activated in January 1944 as

Lt. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.,
in the cockpit of his P-51.



a medium (B-25) bomber unit, the 477th was doomed from the start. Always short of rated officers, particularly navigators and bombardiers, the number of crews never approached the quantity required. Over a year passed before the AAF made any effort whatsoever to do something about these shortages. Moved three times in fourteen months to find more suitable training conditions and to escape the hostility of local populations, the unit found its training constantly interrupted. The white staff proved so insensitive to racial matters that morale suffered badly. In April 1945, a number of black officers were arrested for trying to force their way into the only officers' club available, a club reserved for whites.⁷⁰

In May 1945, with the war over in Europe, General Arnold replaced all white officers of the 477th with blacks and gave command to Davis, now a full colonel. Arnold ordered that the unit be ready for deployment against Japan by the fall of the year, even though the AAF's commander in the Pacific, Lt. Gen. George C. Kenney, clearly did not want the 477th. Davis immediately began getting his new command into shape, and, backed by the support he needed, would have met the deployment schedule had not the atomic bomb terminated the war in August. In the end, the 477th, unsupported and unwanted for most of its existence, contributed little, if anything, to the war effort.⁷¹

The impetus to change the Army's racial policies began in late 1944 when Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy raised the issue with his planning staff. He did not believe that the Army had been adequately prepared to handle large numbers of blacks in uniform. Inadequate and inconsistent policies had created, or at least contributed to, the large number of racial incidents that had wreaked the Army during the war, including full-fledged riots in which property was destroyed and personnel were injured by gunfire. McCloy wanted the Army to begin to develop plans to meet the demands of the postwar era.⁷² Arguably, this was the beginning of a historical oddity, wherein the military, never noted

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for being in the vanguard of social change, ultimately became the first major American institution to cast off racial segregation and to begin to racially integrate its personnel.

During the next year, the Army collected a great deal of data and generated a number of studies on black service personnel, but it fell to a committee headed by Lt. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem, Jr., to prepare the actual policy recommendations on the use of black personnel. The Gillem board first met on October 1, 1945, to sift the previously compiled data and to gather testimony from key officers.

The board's report, issued six weeks later, made eighteen major recommendations that, while cautious by modern standards, were quite progressive for the times. The board accepted the conclusion of a recently completed study that the low scores of blacks on standardized tests was due to factors other than race. Blacks, the board recommended, should be incorporated into the Army roughly in the same proportion as in the larger society, but only if sufficient numbers could meet minimum standards. Commissions should go to the most qualified individuals without regard to race. Blacks should be utilized in as many skills as possible to enhance their professional standing and to provide a suitable cadre for future mobilizations. Military organizations should have both white and black units capable of performing the same duties. Blacks with special skills should perform duty side-by-side with similarly skilled whites. However, off-duty segregation, in the form of separate sleeping and dining facilities, should be maintained.⁷³

The reaction of senior AAF officers to the Gillem Board's recommendations exposed the very limited vision these men had in racial matters. Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, Chief of Air Staff, thought that the races did better if they worked among their own kind and, Colonel Davis the notable exception, doubted that blacks could compete with whites as commissioned officers. In his testimony before the board, Gen. Carl Spaatz, who became the AAF Commanding General in early 1946, saw more problems than opportunities in racial integration. Blacks, he argued, required more training just to reach satisfactory levels, and he doubted that whites would ever serve under a commander of a different race. While it might be possible to integrate some black officers into staff or support positions, white pilots would never accept them in combat units.⁷⁴

Despite opposition such as this, the AAF did institute a number of changes that approximated the Gillem board's recommendations. By mid-1946, pilot training had been integrated, the Tuskegee center had been closed, and all existing black aviation units had been combined into the 332d Fighter Group, stationed at Lockbourne Air Force Base, Ohio, and commanded by Colonel Davis. Overall, the service agreed to accept blacks on a quota basis consistent with their percentage of the local population and to keep the number of black officers at about five hundred.⁷⁵

Beyond that, however, the future remained clouded well into 1948, as the independent Air Force began developing policies suitable to its own needs. Col.

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Lt. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem, Jr., head of the committee that examined the military's use of black personnel.



(later, a brigadier general) Noel F. Parrish, a white officer who had commanded the Tuskegee training program for most of its existence, argued that existing policies promoted inefficiency and demoralized black personnel. In blunt language, he warned that blacks must be offered opportunities commensurate with their individual abilities or the Air Force would face the atomic age weighted down with racial policies more suited for the Civil War.

Discussion of policy options by the Air Board led mostly to disagreements. Some advocated using blacks only in low-skill jobs, such as food service, even as they acknowledged that this would cause problems with civil rights advocates. Others fretted over the problem of getting the races to live and work together in harmony. Only three members of the board, none active duty members of the service, advocated accepting anyone who met standards regardless of race.⁷⁶

Critical to later events were the positions of Stuart Symington and Lt. Gen. Idwal Edwards, the service's first Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. Symington had long advocated progressive policies in matters of race. As President of the Emerson Electric Company during the war, he had integrated the company's work force as a means of increasing production. As Secretary of the Air Force, he encouraged ideas on expanding the role of racial minorities. Edwards favored the separation of the races, but his experience with handling racial incidents during the war and as a member of the panel that collected data for the Gillem Board led him to believe that there was no reasonable alternative to integration at some point in the future.⁷⁷

Those views got a boost, albeit an oblique one, from President Truman in July 1948. Under pressure to do something about the racial situation in the military but trying to prevent southern Democrats from bolting the party over increased civil rights for blacks, Truman sought the middle ground. He issued Executive Order 9981, which mandated equal treatment of military personnel regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin. Although technically not

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Lt. Col. Noel F. Parrish, commander of Tuskegee Army Air Field from December 1942 until the end of World War II.

an integration order, it proved useful in getting reluctant officials in step with later policies.⁷⁸

Despite conservative racial beliefs, Edwards became the most influential player in the decision to integrate. This required him to set aside his personal reservations about blacks (he thought they were inept, limited, and poor prospects as fliers), to acknowledge the cost being paid to keep the races separated, and to translate that into a policy acceptable to the service's senior leadership. His ability to subordinate his prejudices to the realities of mission requirements, in time, earned him praise for his professionalism.⁷⁹

In December 1948, Edwards presented his plan to Symington and Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, the Chief of Staff. Edwards avoided the moral issue of segregation since, like himself, most senior officers of the day probably believed that the separation of blacks and whites was best for both races. Instead, he spoke in terms of efficiently using black manpower. Segregation, he argued, grouped blacks into units where the limited distribution of skills and lower levels of intelligence had usually produced organizations of little benefit to the Air Force. The only black flying unit still in existence, the 332d Fighter Group, was crippled by these factors, resulting in a organization that could be neither duplicated nor expanded and would have limited mobilization potential in another war. Segregation had the additional disadvantage of not allowing qualified blacks to contribute to the mission because they could not serve in white units that could use their skills. The few qualified blacks who had been allowed to work in otherwise white units had not only contributed, but had gained acceptance and recognition as well. Similarly, allowing blacks into training schools on a competitive basis had also proven successful.⁸⁰

Edwards proposed that the Air Force set standards for enlistment and accept and assign all those who met those standards without regard for race, but with due regard for individual ability. Betraying the limits of his own vision, Edwards believed that his policy would limit blacks to about one percent of the

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service's manpower.* This low percentage would ease the concerns of whites who feared integrating blacks in large numbers. The policy offered the additional benefit of freeing the Air Force from accepting a quota of blacks as advocated by the Gillem Board. His plan also recommended that blacks in uniform who did not meet minimum standards be kept in segregated units, presumably until they could be separated from the service. Members of both races who did not feel that they could accommodate the new policy would also be separated.⁸¹

Vandenberg and Symington approved Edwards' plan, and even though some senior officers remained unconvinced, racial integration began in the spring of 1949. In May, the 332d Fighter Group deactivated and its personnel, both officers and enlisted, were reassigned to previously white units that needed their skills. The following month, basic training was integrated and the two squadrons training on a segregated basis were disbanded when their last classes graduated. By the end of the year, almost half of the service's blacks served in integrated units. The Korean War, which began in June 1950, created manpower demands that ensured the process continued, and by 1952, the Air Force had no more segregated units. In 1954, the Army disbanded its last black unit, signaling an end to racial segregation in the American military.⁸²

In a period of only six years, 1949–1954, the American military had reversed racial policies dating essentially from the Civil War. The rapidity of the change was complemented by an easing of tensions as blacks and whites found that, in general, they could work together in an atmosphere of harmony. Civil rights organizations heaped praise on the military and held up its policies as a goal for which all America should strive. Yet, even as the military completed the integration process, internal factors were undermining the process and its benefits.

That undermining occurred because of the limited vision, and correspondingly limited objectives, of the military in racial matters. To most of the military leadership, racial integration was a means of improving efficiency in the work place, and the commitment to equal treatment for minorities declined as the distance from the work place increased. This was most noticeable offbase, where the military had traditionally left decisions about racial policies, whether segregation or integration, up to the local community. Promoting social change near the base was not something a local commander would even consider. In areas where segregation was law, blacks living offbase could expect no support from the military when it came to finding decent housing for their families. Blacks visiting white service members living offbase were urged to wear their uniforms and not to make such visits too frequently. Even in areas without

* General Edwards was wrong. Black participation in the Air Force dropped below 5 percent briefly in 1949, but was double that by 1971. See appendix 8 for the numbers of blacks in the Air Force during the period covered by this study.

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ordinances requiring racial segregation, but which had no black community, the local citizenry was often less than happy when blacks showed up at a nearby base. Those who ran afoul of local racial ordinances faced military sanctions because the military valued good community relations much more than it worried about how those communities might treat some service personnel. The pursuit of good community relations led to segregated schools operated by local school authorities on twenty-two military installations in the South into the mid-1950s, including twelve Air Force Bases. Even in the wake of the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools, the military raised no serious objection in areas of the South that were slow to integrate, even when the children of black service personnel were bused to inferior and still segregated offbase schools.⁸³

Beyond the offbase statutes mandating racial segregation, integration presented a host of other problems within the military that had yet to be addressed properly. In 1950, when Colonel Davis attended the Air War College, the service's senior professional school, he won praise for his work, but he and his wife had little social contact with fellow officers and their wives. White service personnel objected as strenuously as ever, sometimes to the point of violence, to black men associating with white women, even in foreign countries where such associations were accepted by the local population. In some foreign countries, white servicemen successfully pressured bars and clubs to exclude blacks even though the owners harbored no racial prejudices and wanted the business. For example, in Misawa, Japan, forty-two of the city's forty-five nightspots refused to serve blacks.⁸⁴

Military racial matters remained largely frozen into the first part of the next decade. During that period, the nascent civil rights movement of the late 1940s increased in strength and was beginning to transform the American perception of proper race relations. Legal statutes and social customs that had sanctioned discrimination were beginning to come under attack. The Supreme Court ban on segregation in education and the civil rights bills of 1957 and 1960, the first such legislation since the Civil War, were matched by increased pressure at the local level. The latter included the successful black boycott of segregated public transportation in Montgomery, Alabama, led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the use of peaceful demonstrations to call attention to and harass businesses that practiced discrimination. In other words, the country was beginning to catch up with what the military had accomplished a decade earlier, but this time the military remained on the sidelines.

In January 1961, with the civil rights movement gaining momentum, John F. Kennedy entered the White House. Although not an overly enthusiastic advocate of civil rights, the new President supported the movement's basic goals and demonstrated that support with a series of well-publicized initiatives. Shortly after taking office, he directed that the color guards of the various services increase minority participation and ordered the still all-white Coast Guard

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Academy to begin accepting blacks. He then established a committee on equal opportunity to oversee hiring practices of both the federal government and those companies with government contracts. Two months he issued an executive order forbidding the armed forces from encouraging segregation or any other form of discrimination.⁸⁵

The most important step Kennedy took with regard to the military came in June 1962 when he established the Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. The committee was chaired by Gerhard A. Gesell, a prominent Washington attorney, from whom it took its name. Although technically a presidential committee, the Gesell Committee actually owed its existence to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and his assistant, Adam Yarmolinsky. Both were committed to civil rights and racial integration, and both believed that the military establishment should help further those causes. What was needed was written evidence that would force the military to take action beyond the base perimeter. Kennedy established the Gesell committee, whose composition and agenda were dictated by Yarmolinsky, to obtain the needed evidence.⁸⁶

The Gesell committee members (four white and three black) spent a good deal of time traveling, interviewing service members, and gathering data before committing their findings to paper. Their initial report arrived on the President's desk in June 1963. The committee complimented the services for being in the forefront of efforts to improve opportunities for minorities and found little overt discrimination within the military, certainly nothing approaching the discrimination in the civilian community. Having said that, however, the committee found much remaining to be done. Commanders showed scant interest in the discrimination blacks routinely encountered offbase, even though such discrimination could only have a detrimental effect on morale and efficiency. Communication between blacks and commanders on racial matters was almost nonexistent. Although overt forms of discrimination were not the norm, subtle and covert forms had resulted in reduced promotion opportunities for blacks and de facto racial segregation on some installations. The major committee recommendations included establishing discrete channels through which racial matters could be addressed, the removal of all racial information (including photographs) from promotion folders, and making local military commanders responsible for fighting offbase discrimination.⁸⁷

Of the Gesell Committee's major recommendations, only the last, which required the military to play an active role within the local civilian community, caused serious controversy. Appalled at the potential cost in terms of good relations with the local community, which the American military had historically valued, many senior officials voiced dissent. Former Army Chief of Staff Gen. George H. Decker argued that, while the motive was commendable, no local commander should have such power and responsibility since it would lead to excessive involvement in local politics. Secretary of the Air Force Eugene

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Zuckert, long a civil rights advocate, agreed with the majority of Air Force general officers that racial integration in civilian world was not their problem. Even older black airmen were uneasy about the implications of using the military to integrate reluctant communities. Aware of the improvements since World War II, and grateful for those improvements, they did not wish to rock the boat.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, using the military as a weapon to further racial integration was publicly embraced by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. In August 1963, he broke past precedent by ordering local commanders to declare any facility that discriminated against blacks off limits to military personnel. Over the next few years, until Vietnam began diverting his attention, McNamara made several other precedent-setting policy decisions. These included allowing, with minor restrictions, military personnel to participate in civil rights demonstrations; authorizing commanders to interact with groups whose policy it was to foster equal opportunity; refusing to send military members to colleges and universities at government expense if those institutions were discriminatory; and authorizing the National Guard and Reserve components, both of which were virtually all white, to exceed their manpower limits, if necessary, to increase black participation.⁸⁹

For its part, the Air Force remained cautious about civil rights beyond the base perimeter. When the police used fire hoses and trained dogs to break up voter registration demonstrations in Selma, Alabama, in 1963, the commander of nearby Moody Air Force Base did not use his sanction authority because no Air Force personnel were involved and government property was not damaged. Secretary McNamara's initiatives were enforced, but the Air Force took few steps of its own, even after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 swept away the statutory basis of racial segregation and made discrimination illegal. Only in the area of housing did the Air Force appear to have pursued offbase discrimination vigorously, and with positive results. By 1971, over 98 percent of the over five hundred thousand rental units near air bases were open to all races.⁹⁰

Strangely, given its vow to eradicate those shortcomings within the service noted by the Gesell Committee, the Air Force achieved only mixed results on internal racial matters. An Equal Opportunity Group was opened under the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, in 1963, but it had only a staff of six (soon reduced to five) headed by a colonel, and monitored compliance with, rather than enforcing, existing directives or developing new ones. At all levels, communications between minorities and commanders remained inadequate and in serious need of improvement. The number of black cadets at the Air Force Academy climbed very slowly, with only fifty-two, of a cadet corps of over three thousand, in 1968. Overall, the percentage of black officers increased only 0.6 percent (to 1.7 percent) in the decade after 1962. On the positive side, the percentage of black officers selected for promotion into and within the field-grade ranks began to improve in the late 1960s enough nearly to double (to

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about 30 percent) the percentage of black officers holding field-grade rank by 1972, although the percentage was still some 10 points below the percentage of white field-grade officers.⁹¹

What ultimately prompted the Air Force to take a hard look at its racial policies was the spread of racial violence from the civil realm into the military. Until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the civil rights movement had generally observed the nonviolent philosophy espoused by its foremost spokesman, Martin Luther King, Jr. Increasingly, however, other, and more militant, voices, impatient with the pace of change, could be heard in the ghettos of the major American cities as blacks in greater numbers turned toward violence as a means of venting their anger and frustration. Beginning in 1964, and continuing sporadically for several years, riots shook many of the nation's major metropolitan areas, leaving in their wake death and destruction.

Young black enlisted men recruited from the inner cities to support the expanding war in Vietnam brought the violence into the military. This shift toward urban and away from rural recruitment mirrored the effects of black migration into the cities that began during World War II. These recruits from inner city areas had listened to the more militant voices and observed first hand the racial violence of the times. Unlike older blacks who had seen improvements in the military, the younger men had not experienced any progress in race relations since World War II, and consequently, they did not feel that the white establishment was attempting to change conditions. The potential for violence increased even further in 1966 when the military was ordered to accept one hundred thousand recruits who did not meet minimum enlistment standards. These young men, of all races, came from the segments of society where racial attitudes were the least enlightened. They tended to have little self-discipline, and exhibited volatile behavior that easily exploded at any slight, real or imagined, from a member of another race.⁹²

When Martin Luther King was murdered in 1968, trouble, ranging from greatly increased tensions to full-fledged riots, was quick in coming, first to the Army in Vietnam, where tensions in rear echelon units had long been on the rise, and then to the Navy. For some reason, the Air Force escaped the initial wave of violent reaction to the King assassination. That was sufficient for some senior officers, including Gen. John D. Ryan, the Chief of Staff, to believe that the Air Force had things under control.⁹³

That confidence was quickly destroyed by a major racial disturbance in 1970 at Goose Bay, Labrador, when whites objected to black airmen dancing with white women, and by four incidents in the first half of 1971. The most serious of the 1971 incidents involved several nights of rioting at Travis AFB, California. These incidents laid bare the underlying racial tensions gripping the service, tensions that only needed a spark to flare into open violence. Sporadic racial disturbances continued over the next few years, although none with the intensity as those during the first half of 1971.⁹⁴

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Belatedly, the Air Force acknowledged that bureaucratic structures and military discipline could not protect it from the ailments of the general society. Race and racial tensions were facts of life, problems that required new methods of intervention. In recognition of this, the service adopted a number of approaches that were much broader than previous attempts. What had been the Equal Opportunity Office became the Human Relations Branch of the Air Staff's newly created Social Actions Division. The new division had responsibilities that covered a number of social problems, including drug and alcohol abuse, race relations, and domestic violence. Elsewhere, commanders began to take seriously the treatment of minorities offbase, and personnel at all levels got quicker and more sympathetic hearings on racial problems. A base commander was dismissed in 1972 for being unaware of tensions that finally flared into a racial incident. Commanders were ordered to recognize racial and ethnic groups so long as those groups did not use unlawful means, violate the rights of others, or engage in excessively partisan politics. In late 1971, the Air Force developed a plan to increase the number of blacks in the commissioned ranks by aggressively seeking out qualified potential applicants, rather than waiting for applicants to approach procurement programs. In particular, the Air Force Academy opened a remedial program to assist otherwise qualified black applicants to overcome minor education deficiencies.⁹⁵

Other changes were subtle, but very important, attempts to recognize blacks as a distinct and important entity within the service's fabric. In 1971, bases began to test black personnel for sickle cell anemia, a genetic blood disorder unique to black individuals, and to provide counseling and medical advice to anyone testing positive. In 1972, the Air Force Academy held a Black Arts Festival, featuring music, cooking, fashions, church services, and a sculpture display. The festival won praise and continued in later years, while other bases acknowledged both black culture and the full range of that culture.⁹⁶

The most comprehensive effort to deal with racial tensions was the Race Relations Program that, beginning in late 1971, every member of the service, military and civilian, attended. The program used both lectures and small discussion seminars to provide a cross section of the service in terms of rank and race. The sessions addressed racial tensions and causes, and the instructors directed the discussion along those lines.

Hastily thrown together using broad Defense Department directives, the early efforts were not successful. Instructors tended to be enthusiastic, but poorly trained and too intent on quickly righting racial wrongs. Confrontational methods were frequently employed, but they produced shouting matches, hurt feelings, and hardened attitudes rather than understanding and cooperation. Participants became sullen and uncooperative in the face of hectoring about their racism and demands that they adopt more enlightened attitudes.

Modifications over the next few years altered the format to encourage everyone to air their views, provided speakers did not verbally attack other

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group members or deliver personalized diatribes and listened when others had their say. Seminar members of both races were placed in hypothetical situations in which they had to deal constructively with attitudes and situations they found threatening or confusing. Formed into small seminar groups, members discussed racial matters as candidly as the sensitivity of the subject matter would allow. Rather than attempting to banish problems associated with race, the new approach acknowledged that problems existed and attempted to instill the message in everyone that, with communication and tolerance, the races could live and work together in harmony. The low-keyed tactics proved much more successful, and thereafter, everyone entering the Air Force attended race relations programs using that approach.

The lesson learned was that blacks needed more and better support than they had been receiving to become contributing members of the service. For too many years, race relations had been allowed to drift once the work place had been integrated, and commanders had relied upon military discipline and the base fence as substitutes for intelligent handling of a potentially explosive problem. The result had been a period of racial turmoil that spanned nearly a decade, reduced mission effectiveness, and made the military a less desirable place in which to live and work.

* * * * *

The return of relative racial calm was not the end of the struggle to integrate racial minorities into the military fabric; indeed, far from it. Race has been, and will likely remain, a deep social wound that can threaten any institution if not dealt with intelligently. The success of military race relations rested most heavily on commanders at every level, who had to be sensitive to attitudes and situations, not only within the military, but also within the society at large. This was appropriate, since they were responsible for both mission accomplishment and the people under their authority. This required a willingness to listen and to act in situations that might seem ambiguous or even trivial, but which were important to those whose sensibilities have been offended.

The Race Relations Program, soon renamed the Human Relations Program, was the most positive sign that the military could and would address problems that threatened internal cohesion. Made a permanent part of Social Actions, the Human Relations Program began to address the attitudes and concerns associated with the ever-increasing number of women entering the service. Using the group-discussion approach that worked with racial issues, the effort proved quite successful. So successful, in fact, that the disbanding of the WAF in April 1976 to more fully incorporate women into the service's fabric passed with scarcely a ripple.

Chapter Thirteen

Another Type of Integration: Skills

Much as World War II had opened the door to the participation of women and mandated fuller acceptance of racial minorities, so did it force the inclusion of numerous skills beyond piloting into the peacetime service. The complex demands of modern warfare and the promise of an independent Air Force that could no longer look to the Army to supply additional personnel put an end to an officer corps that was virtually all pilots. The integration of those hundreds of new skills into the Air Force became as big a challenge as did the integration of women and minorities, although skills never attracted the public's attention as did race and gender.

Throughout the brief history of the Air Force, official policy had played down, as much as possible, the differences between officers of different skills to attract the personnel needed for a balanced and competent corps of leaders. When the basic policies were laid down in the late 1940s, one of the main objectives was to avoid the divisiveness so obvious in the Army's corps system. Developing career fields, instead of corps, and placing all save chaplains, lawyers, and medical personnel in the line officer category were expected to promote unity and provide acceptable careers for everyone. Repeatedly, the service stated that advancement was limited only by ability. Nevertheless, from the vantage point of the 1970s, there were three easily identifiable groups within the line officers, and the benefits from discarding the Army's corps system had not, for reasons both appropriate and inappropriate, been evenly distributed among those groups.

The Peripheral Status of Nonrated Officers

The most obvious distinction in line officers was between those who wore wings and those who did not. The Army had branches associated with combat, such as infantry and armor, and branches whose role was in the area of support,

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such as supply and finance. In the Air Force, the combat echelon was those who manned the aircraft—the rated officers—and the support personnel were those who did not—the nonrated officers.

When General Arnold set into motion the officer personnel planning for an independent Air Force, he was heavily influenced by technology and the need to develop an officer corps to keep pace with technological change. Basically, Arnold's vision turned out to be valid; the Air Force has remained the most technologically driven of the military services, and the officer corps did evolve into a complex array of career fields and specialties. Yet, that vision also had flaws. Arnold's belief that the officer corps would by about 1960 be more nearly a corps of technicians and scientists was wrong. Despite the inclusion of missiles in the arsenal, primarily in a strategic role, the airplane remained overwhelmingly the central weapon of aerial warfare.¹

Arnold's second error was not one of vision, but a simple miscalculation that the service's senior leadership could break with the past and finish the reshaping of the officer corps that he had started. A hard-driving man with a hair-trigger temper, Arnold seemed indifferent to an officer's rating, or even whether he had one. Maj. Gen. William F. McKee, an observer, found that his lack of pilot wings was no impediment when working on the commanding general's staff. He was treated the same as any other officer, and when he departed for a new assignment in 1945, Arnold personally thanked him for his service, noting that he always did his job and that was all Arnold asked. To McKee, that effectively summarized the values that ruled Arnold's relationship with his subordinates, rated or nonrated.²

Arnold's contemporaries were divided in their attitudes toward nonrated officers. Lt. Gen. Elwood Quesada, Commander of the Tactical Air Command in the late 1940s, understood the need for such officers and supported them. In what would later be called affirmative action, Quesada carefully divided the key positions in his command among rated and nonrated officers, including those transferring their commissions from the Army. At the other extreme stood Gen. George Kenney and Maj. Gen. Clements McMullen of SAC. Intent on returning SAC's officer manning to something resembling the prewar Air Corps, the two officers made a determined effort to exclude all nonrated officers from their command, ignoring official policy, badly damaging their command, and flirting with insubordination prior to their transfer to other duties. Others were like Lt. Gen. George Stratemeyer, unsure of the proper role of nonrated officers and nervous about long-term implications of their presence.³

The first two Chiefs of Staff, Carl Spaatz and Hoyt Vandenberg, supported the inclusion of nonrated officers in the Air Force, but with diminishing effect. When Spaatz learned in 1946 that some nonrated officers newly transferred from the Army were being assigned to duties other than what they had expected, he ordered the major commanders to correct the problem immediately. A year later, he focused on the rated vs nonrated issue. Again writing to the major

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commanders, he called the division between rated and nonrated "unfortunate" and affirmed his intent that there be no legal or administrative barriers save command of flying units to the career possibilities of nonrated officers. Yet he weakened his own case by failing to take firm action to get SAC in step with these very policies.⁴

Vandenberg resolved the difficulties in SAC when he removed both Kenney and McMullen and brought in Lt. Gen. Curtis LeMay. Two months later, the Chief of Staff sent a personal letter to each of the major commanders repeating support for nonrated officers and spelling out in considerable detail the types of units that these officers could and could not command. In January 1949, he approved a major revision to Air Force Regulation 55-1 that incorporated the main points of his earlier letter. However, by then, the initial surge to broaden opportunities within the officer corps had already begun to encounter the limits to which many of the service's senior leadership, all with roots in the pilot-dominated Air Corps, were willing to accommodate nonfliers in a world built around airplanes. In sum, attitudes were hardening.⁵

The situation in SAC was the most glaring example of a hardening of attitudes, but there were others. A year after Arnold had thanked him for his contribution, General McKee was removed as Commanding General of the European Division of the Air Transport Command because he was not a pilot. A year later, his services in any capacity were preemptively rejected by Lt. Gen. Ennis Whitehead, Far East Air Forces Commander, for the same reason. A 1949 survey found a high level of dissatisfaction among nonrated officers at what they accurately perceived to be favoritism shown the rated force in virtually all personnel matters. Singled out for particular criticism was the practice of placing rated officers in nonrated billets when nonrated officers were readily available. That practice was so widespread that by the late 1940s the number of rated officers in nonrated billets just about equaled the number in rated billets.⁶

Another obvious tilt toward rated officers was in the policies governing Regular commissions. In 1947, tendering Regular commissions on the basis of 70 percent for rated officers and 30 percent for nonrated officers was supposedly discarded in favor of letting the needs of the service dictate commissions. Still, supported by an Air Force wanting a backlog of rated officers as a hedge against the surge requirements during time of war, rated officers received the lion's share of the Regular billets. In 1952, only 303 Regular commissions were awarded, but 90 percent went to rated officers, probably a reaction in part to the casualties suffered by the rated force in Korea. In 1958, a peacetime year, and the year of a massive augmentation that virtually doubled the size of the Regular force, rated officers received 72 percent of the billets.⁷

Understandably, rated officers saw things differently. After all, the service was the *Air Force* and those entrusted with the primary (flying) mission, in their view, should receive special consideration. Nevertheless, they too were less than happy about some of the personnel policies of the late 1940s. They

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resented the increased emphasis on management and technology that detracted from the flying mission of the service. Others expressed less than generous opinions about nonrated officers because such officers were the most readily apparent symbol of the trends away from flying. It was a tense, polarized environment that needed only a spark to bring the conflict into the open. Korea provided that spark.⁸

The Korean War, unpopular and perceived by many as unwinnable, and the accompanying buildup of the service, produced enough additional strain to rend the already taut fabric of the officer corps. Much of the resulting frustration and anger was directed inward. Nonrated officers denigrated the "jet jockeys" and "throttle benders" and were answered in kind with taunts about the "ground pounders," "gravel agitators," and "kiwis," the last for the flightless Australian bird. Nonrated officers complained that they were treated purely as "specialists" who had less potential for advancement and received lower efficiency reports as a result. The commander of a fighter squadron in Europe suggested that kiwis were of little value and should not be tendered Regular commissions until all fliers had been taken care of. Aviators felt that even in wartime when they carried the combat load they were treated as a "dime-a-dozen" with skills of declining importance in a service increasingly infatuated with technology and management. The bitterness of a great many rated officers was so pronounced that even high-ranking nonrated officers voiced concern about the low morale among fliers.⁹

The end of the Korean War (1953) and the onset of relatively stable times did not end the internal conflict, although it did take the edge off some of the hard feelings. Other stabilizing factors included an increased acceptance of nonrated officers based both on an acknowledgement of their value, and on their slowly, but steadily, increasing numbers. In 1954, 45 percent of the officer corps was nonrated. By 1968, the figure was 56 percent, and growing.

Still, the peripheral status of nonrated officers remained unchanged. Nonrated officers did not command major installations and organizations—training bases, the Air University, or Air Materiel Command—as General Vandenberg had suggested in 1948. Only about 18 percent of the students attending the Air Command and Staff College in the 1950s were without a rating, and attendance at the Air War College in the sixteen years ending in 1968 was only about 15 percent nonrated. In 1965, nonrated officers filled only 23 percent of the colonel billets, down from 30 percent in 1950, and made up only about 12 percent of the general officers, about the same as in 1951. Restrictions on nonrated officers getting career broadening assignments outside their primary career field were much greater than for fliers. Only nine nonrated officers were among those flag officers included in the 1970 sample used to develop the tables in the preceding chapter, and only three could be considered generalists. The remaining six were true specialists, usually in a scientific or technical field.¹⁰

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The upshot of the whole situation was yet another aspect of the retention problem plaguing the service after the mid-1950s. In 1965, about half the officers were being retained past their minimum active duty obligations, but there was a great gap between the percentages for rated and nonrated. Those percentages had a familiar ring: 70 percent for rated and 30 percent for nonrated. However, after enduring poor retention among nonrated officers since the Korean War, the service finally acknowledged that it had experienced an unacceptable loss of talent. In August 1965, a committee, chaired by Maj. Gen. Neil D. Van Sickle, Commander of the Air Force Recruiting Service, convened to study the problem.¹¹

The Van Sickle Committee found discontent among nonrated officers at a whole spectrum of Air Force policies that provided them scant opportunities for career advancement, and then only after the needs of the rated force had been met. They particularly resented lesser qualified rated officers taking supervisory level nonrated billets at the expense of both mission efficiency and their career aspirations. Equally strong feelings focused on the wings given rated officers to denote their specialty and the lack of similar badges for nonrated specialties. In the opinion of many nonrated officers, the absence of such badges visually separated them from the rated force, degraded the impact of their uniforms, and shunted them to the periphery of the Air Force mission.¹²

In general, the Van Sickle Committee was sympathetic to the plight of the nonrated officers, many who felt the term "nonrated" was in itself derogatory. Their report repudiated, for the first time in a major document, the official, and often repeated, position that all officers enjoyed advancement limited only by ability. In its recommendations, the committee called for assignment policies that were sensitive to the career aspirations of nonrated officers, the elimination of the term nonrated, and the development of uniform insignia to enhance the status of all officers.¹³

Many of the same issues noted by the Van Sickle Committee had been raised almost twenty years earlier by such officers as Maj. Gen. Hugh Knerr, the Secretary of the Air Board, and Maj. Gen. Otto P. Weyland, who in 1947 made the first critical study of the prescribed ratio between rated and nonrated officers. The fact that they were still being discussed showed quite clearly that too little progress had been made and that the incorporation of nonrated officers into the structure had been inadequate. Interestingly, the Van Sickle Committee, handicapped by a lack of institutional memory and historical data, did not understand the relationship of cause and effect in the retention of nonrated officers. The committee attributed the number of rated officers in nonrated billets to the poor retention of nonrated officers. The committee apparently had no knowledge that the basic structure of the officer corps had always been based roughly on a 70-30 division of the Regular officer corps. The 70 percent reserved for rated officers provided for all the rated billets plus a considerable overage to be used in nonrated duties both as a ready pool to answer the initial

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Maj. Gen. Neil D. Van Sickle,
Commander, Air Force Recruiting Service,
1965–1966.

surge in requirements should war break out and to provide rated officers with career broadening assignments outside of flying. Thus, nonrated officers were being retained in almost exactly the same percentages traditionally reserved for them in the Regular establishment.

The peripheral status of nonrated officers had some justification, especially in operations (flying), the main mission of the Air Force. Positions of responsibility concerned with the direction of flight operations required officers who understood the problems facing fliers, an understanding gained only through actively planning and participating in flight missions. Nonrated officers, who were without that experience, found their career options progressively limited the nearer their careers carried them to the main mission of the service.

That was most apparent in the general officer billets, most of which had responsibilities relative to flying and where few general officers were nonrated. Flying was the mission of the service, and the selection of flag officers with respect to the mission was consistent with that of the other services. The Army selected its senior officers from the combat arms (infantry, armor, or artillery) while Navy admirals usually had experience commanding combat ships. The major problems generated by the Air Force policy came from providing nonrated officers so few career opportunities in the Regular establishment and in too often putting them, whatever their grade, in positions subordinate to rated officers in areas where they were better qualified and had every right to expect rewards commensurate with those superior qualifications.¹⁴

The Ambiguous Status of Other Rated Officers

Placing the status of the nonrated officer in perspective did not fully account for all the groups whose interests were subordinated to what has thus far been called rated officers. Many of the rated officer policies discussed in this

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narrative applied not to rated officers, but only to pilots. The flag officer ranks were not made up mainly of rated officers, but of pilots. The Air Corps, the Army Air Forces, and the Air Force focused not on rated officers, but on pilots. Trapped in a poorly defined area between pilots and nonrated officers were the other rated. These officers possessed valid aeronautical ratings, wore wings, drew flight pay, and planned and participated in aerial missions. Yet they were different.¹⁵

That difference permeated the language of the first generation of Air Force officers. The words pilot, rated, commander, and generalist were used almost interchangeably. Conversely, other rated officers were also referred to as rated, but more often as other rated, nonpilot rated, rated-other-than-pilot, specialist, and, not infrequently, as *nonrated*. The confused terminology was evident as late as 1969.

Clearly, pilots were truly rated and the other rated something less, a distinction that disturbed planners in the immediate post-World War II period. Including the other rated in the operations (flying) career field, where by custom and law only pilots could command or hold positions of responsibility, posed a paradox. It meant that, unique in the Air Force, other rated officers were in a career field in which they had no real careers.

As a way out of the dilemma, two alternatives were examined in the immediate postwar period. One alternative would cross-train pilots in the other rated duties much as had been done in the Air Corps. The number of other rated officers would then decline to the bare minimum necessary to fill in when a shortage of cross-trained pilots developed and to form a cadre for any future mobilization. The other suggestion was for enlisted men to perform the other airborne functions, thereby creating an all-pilot rated officer force. Neither idea received serious consideration. The use of enlisted men to perform the nonpilot airborne duties was rejected because those duties were thought to be important enough to be performed by commissioned officers. The cross-training of pilots was rejected because similar efforts during the war had failed due to a lack of interest by the pilots in performing duties they considered secondary.¹⁶

A third option to solving the other rated dilemma surfaced in 1949. In March of that year, General Vandenberg received a letter from Maj. Gen. Laurence Kuter, Commander of the Military Air Transport Service (MATS), the major command responsible for strategic airlift. Kuter, at one time the youngest general in the American military, had enjoyed a close personal and professional relationship with Arnold during World War II. Arnold, ever the iconoclast, saw no reason why officers with ratings other than pilot should not command flying units and, in the main, Kuter agreed.¹⁷

In his letter to Vandenberg, Kuter requested authority to appoint officers other than pilots to command positions within MATS. Carefully seeking the middle ground, he exempted those MATS units with a wartime mission, presumably delivering troops and supplies by parachute, as opposed to routine

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logistic operations. Otherwise, he continued, the mission of MATS was analogous to that of a civilian airline, most of which did not rely entirely on pilot management. In a phrase that Arnold might have penned, Kuter noted that the "good judgment and common sense" of those appointed to command positions could be trusted to utilize pilots where they were needed.¹⁸

Vandenberg denied the request, relying heavily on a study signed by Maj. Gen. Robert Nugent, Director of Personnel Planning, for his rationale. Like much of the correspondence of the day, both the study and the reply used nonrated and nonpilot interchangeably. Ignoring the reality of who actually held the positions, the study noted that 71 percent of all command billets and 85 percent of the field-grade billets could be held by nonpilots. Therefore, career opportunities for nonpilots were already sufficient. Ignoring the reality that other rated officers were experienced fliers, the study lumped them with nonrated officers by arguing that only pilots understood the problems of flying. Even if enabling legislation was obtained allowing nonpilots to command flying units, Vandenberg continued, it would make no difference. Nonpilots should not be placed in such positions regardless of what the law said.¹⁹

Vandenberg's response maintained the status quo, but it did not resolve the status of rated officers who were treated much differently than pilots. In March 1950, a committee chaired by General Nugent addressed that ambiguity. The committee recommended that other rated officers be eliminated as a factor in the active duty Air Force. No further Regular billets should be tendered other rated officers, and the Regular line officer force should consist of 18,000 pilots and 6,500 nonrated officers, very near a 70-30 ratio. Ignoring the failure of such a policy in World War II and the recent and ruinous experiment in the Strategic Air Command, the study recommended that all rated duties be performed by pilots cross-trained in those skills. The 1,417 other rated officers who already had Regular commissions would remain a part of the force, but in nonrated duties.²⁰

The committee's recommendations had not been acted on when the Korean War erupted and attentions turned elsewhere. Yet the idea of an all-pilot rated force died hard. Throughout the remainder of 1950 came recommendations against further Regular billets for other rated officers and suggestions that those already with Regular commissions be sent to pilot training. In 1952 came the suggestion that pilots be trained as navigators and bombardiers as a means of augmenting those skills and as a means of producing officers with broader, generalist backgrounds, and, therefore, better officers.²¹

In fact, the idea of pilots assuming other rated duties was attempted again, and in continuing disregard of the lessons of the recent past, this time in MATS, with navigation duties. Many of MATS navigators were recalled Reservists who did not wish to be on active duty in any capacity, much less one with so few career opportunities, and very few showed any interest in staying on active duty any longer than necessary. In 1952, the MATS Commander, Maj. Gen. Joseph

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Maj. Gen. Richard E. Nugent,
Director, Personnel Planning,
1948–1949.



Smith, got approval to cross-train pilots as navigators on a trial basis. Since the skills required of MATS navigators were relatively uncomplicated, consisting mainly of celestial techniques (i.e. navigation by heavenly bodies), the plan was given a chance of success. Yet it failed because pilots were not interested in lower prestige duties and because of the difficulty in keeping proficient in two widely dissimilar skills.²²

Beginning in 1952, the failure of the various schemes and the need for the other rated officers, collectively termed observers, finally forced a serious look at how to accommodate such officers within the service's rated fabric. The demands of Korea and the military buildup had returned almost 90 percent of the observers to cockpit duties, and with predictable consequences—morale was poor and virtually no interest in a military career due to the limited career opportunities. In 1953, observers held only 15 command and directorate positions while pilots held about 2,400. Given the prevailing rank structure among flight crews, the lack of command opportunities, and the limited supervisory and staff positions open to observers in cockpit billets, very few could expect to rise above the rank of major.²³

In examining the problem, the Air Staff again considered opening command of flying units to observers. This time, the idea gained some support. MATS favored it as a way out of their problem with navigators as did the Air Training Command, which was saddled with attracting young men to a job with little potential for advancement. Lt. Gen. Robert W. Harper, the ATC Commander, castigated current policy and urged that the policies governing pilots be extended to all rated officers. A staff study in 1953 laid out the problem in considerable detail and recommended that everyone keep an open mind. Taking the racial integration in progress since 1948 as its example, the study noted that only a few years earlier, command of "white troops" by "colored officers" had seemed equally far fetched. Another paper noted that the British, German, and Soviet air forces made command opportunities available to all rated officers, but failed

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to integrate that observation into an argument either for or against such a policy in the Air Force.²⁴

In the main, however, attitudes toward command of flying units by other than pilots remained unchanged. If anything, attitudes had been hardened and made defensive by the frustrations of the Korean War and the attendant feeling that flying was losing prestige. Maj. Gen. Roger M. Ramey, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, thought that command by nonpilots would lower unit efficiency and, besides, there were already enough nonpilots in the higher grades. Others argued against securing enabling legislation that would allow observers to command flying units since they would not really benefit from such a change; with so few command billets, any vacancies would naturally be filled by pilots. Occasionally, the argument went, an outstanding observer might get a small command, but nothing more. One of the studies dismissed the whole idea of command by observers as "basically repulsive to pilots."²⁵

With equal opportunities ruled out and the status quo unacceptable, attention turned to exploiting what the system would accept. In October 1953, command of units in which flying was a collateral or support function was opened to observers. These units, relatively few in number, included technical intelligence units, air base groups, and, appropriately, observer training units. However, if an observer was placed in command, the operations officer must be a pilot. The result was actually more a divided responsibility than a true command, with the observer taking care of the nonflying functions and the flying function safely in the hands of a pilot. The divided responsibility allowed command of the same units to be opened to nonrated officers, although observers enjoyed priority for such billets.²⁶

In 1956, command of ground-launched missile units was opened to observers although a pilot rating remained desirable until early 1960. It marked the first time that observers exercised command of a weapons system, even those awkwardly referred to as nonpiloted. As with command of those units where flying was a corollary function, nonrated officers were also authorized to command ground-launched missile units, but this time observers did not receive priority.²⁷ The near uniformity of policy toward command of missile units and units where flying was not the primary mission by observers and nonrated officers indicated that the service's senior leadership viewed observers as closer to nonrated officers than to pilots in their leadership potential.

For the bulk of the observers, those without the talent or ambition necessary for command, career advancement meant getting out of flying altogether. Based on studies done in 1952, if observer manning exceeded cockpit requirements by about 45 percent, a reasonable number of observers could leave the operations career field for nonrated duties where their talents could be more fully exploited. Although most observers would return to rated duties, those who performed exceptionally well had an opportunity of remaining outside the operations career field for extended periods of time. An adequate observer

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manning level, although probably not 45 percent over requirements, was reached in late 1955, opening an escape hatch for observers for a decade.²⁸

Otherwise, the changes were minor. Beginning in 1953, efforts intensified to end the unfortunate situation in which pilots, in their role as aircraft commanders of crew-served aircraft, wrote the efficiency reports of higher ranking observers, although that problem lingered into the 1960s. In 1963, additional staff positions for observers, specifically navigators, opened, but their role was mostly advisory and limited to matters of navigation. During the Vietnam War, the pilot shortage forced the service to open some operations staff billets to navigators, but only in small numbers. Still other changes were cosmetic. Limiting certain rooms in base operations to pilots only ended by the mid-1950s, and throughout the decade there was an effort to enhance the observers' image through media releases.²⁹

Image enhancement, however, even that of a cosmetic nature, had its limits when it collided with deeply held values. The tempest over the wings worn by other rated officers is indicative. When officers finished flight school, they were awarded wings denoting their rated specialty. When pilots achieved seven years rated service and two thousand hours of flying time, they got the rating of senior pilot, and a star was affixed to the top of their pilot's wings. In 1953, a similar rating, considered off and on since 1949, was approved for observers as a quick "image enhancer." Henceforth, observers who met the standard of seven years and two thousand hours became senior observers, also with a star atop their wings.³⁰ At fifteen years of rated service and three thousand hours of flying time pilots received the third, and highest, rated tier, and a wreath encircled the star atop their wings. In 1956, planning began for a third tier for observers, now known as navigators, but the project dragged on for three years before the master navigator rating was approved for those with fifteen years and three thousand hours. Media releases attributed the lengthy approval process to problems in designing the new wings. While that may have been a problem, another, and unpublicized, disagreement focused on the name for the third navigator tier. In fact, the disagreement was over a single word. Pilots in the third rated tier were *command* pilots.³¹

The command pilot rating was created in the 1930s as a reward for long rated service and a record of exceptional flying skill. Among other things, command pilots could excuse themselves from some proficiency requirements, log pilot time without actually handling the aircraft's controls, and sign their own flight clearances. By the late 1950s, those privileges were gone, and the rating rewarded only fifteen years of service and three thousand flying hours.³² The reluctance to award a command prefix to the third navigator tier was based entirely on an unwillingness to associate that prefix with a rated group so consistently excluded from most command billets.

Pressure to change the policies toward navigators did not become acute until the last half of the 1960s. By that time, navigators had been a part of the

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service's fabric for over twenty-five years, and constituted about 29 percent of the rated force. It was now a matured group, with officers of sufficient years of service for consideration for all grades, including flag rank. Naturally, ambitious and talented navigators resented policies detrimental to their upward mobility, particularly if those policies were perceived as archaic and unfair.

Also in the 1960s, the statistical analyses of promotion results began to break the rated force down into its component parts rather than lumping all those with wings in a rated or operations category. This confirmed what must have already been widely suspected, that navigators had much less opportunity for promotion to colonel, where previous command experience was a definite asset, than either pilots or nonrated officers. In 1967, only 8 percent of the rated colonels were navigators, and only 15 percent of the rated lieutenant colonels wore navigator wings.³³

The general officer ranks, where command experience was virtually a prerequisite, were almost beyond the reach of even the most talented navigator. The first navigator to achieve flag rank, Rockly Triantafellu, did not do so until 1965, and the second, Robert P. Lukeman, not until 1969. Neither had previous command experience, but made the rank as staff officers, largely in nonrated fields.³⁴

The pressure for change got a critical boost from the Vietnam War. That unpopular conflict and accompanying social changes brought the judgment of the nation's leaders into question, something the military could not and did not escape. The major effect of Vietnam on navigators, however, was with manning levels.

Since the mid-1950s manning had been sufficient to allow a migration of navigators into other areas, despite the numerical decline of the rated force that began in 1957. In fact, navigator production held its own until 1962 when ceilings enforced by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara initiated a period of declining training that continued until about 1970. Beginning in 1965, the demands of the Vietnam War for personnel rose sharply; and by no later than 1969, navigator manning levels fell below rated requirements. The flow of navigators out of rated duties reversed and forecasts called for no change until at least 1977, if then. With the chances of escaping into a nonrated billet dramatically reduced and rated opportunities as limited as ever, navigators increasingly found their situation intolerable.³⁵

The Central Status of the Pilot

The overwhelming priority given pilots had deep historical roots. The Army began selecting officers for pilot training in 1907, only four years after the Wright Brothers made their first flight. At first, the selection techniques were as crude as the airplanes themselves. Those selected were young, unmarried,

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Maj. Gen. Rockly Triantafellu, left, and Brig. Gen. Robert P. Lukeman, the first two Air Force navigators to achieve the rank of general.

with less than five years of service, and volunteers. Among the attributes thought desirable were courage, dexterity, enthusiasm, and an exceptional sense of equilibrium, which was critically important in detecting and quickly correcting minute shifts in the balance of the unstable, poorly instrumented aircraft.³⁶

Faced with the task of training thousands of aviators in World War I, the selection process tried to weed out those with little aptitude, but the techniques remained primitive. Applicants were spun in a "spin chair" to test their equilibrium, and doctors attempted to assess each man's officer qualities based on brief periods of observation. Otherwise, the screening process concentrated on physical coordination. Men who could ride well, sail a fast boat, and handle a motorcycle were considered good prospects, particularly if they also possessed intelligence, alertness, maturity, and self-confidence. Football players were prime candidates, although others argued that a male dancer, less overtly masculine but blessed with grace and fine motor skill development, came nearer the ideal for potential pilots. In 1940 came the suggestion that applicants for pilot training be observed on ice skates as a way of judging which among them had the best chance of earning their wings.³⁷

In 1941, with war clouds building, the service faced the prospect of having to test and train even larger numbers of young men in rated skills far more technologically advanced than in the previous conflict. That made it imperative that only those with a reasonable chance of earning their wings be entered into training. In one of the first uses of applied psychology on a massive scale, a series of tests were developed to select young men for training as pilots, navigators, and bombardiers. As a secondary function, the tests also provided some indication of each applicant's potential as an officer. The names—Air

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Crew Classification Battery, Air Force Officer Quality Test, and Basic Attributes Test—and the testing techniques have changed, but the tests measure essentially the same things.³⁸

Successful applicants for pilot training judged speed and distance well, had good muscular coordination and well developed coordination of hands and feet, reacted quickly and accurately to perceptual inputs, and learned motor skills rapidly. They also made sound judgments, possessed a stable temperament, and had the ability to plan. Most of all, those accepted into pilot training showed a well developed capability to monitor a variety of sensory inputs, had a good feel, for flying, and could control an aircraft through a complex interaction of hands, feet, and eyes.³⁹

The tests, administered to over a half million young men during the war, confirmed that the pre-World War II estimate had been correct: piloting was a mechanical skill based on psychomotor development and good hand-eye coordination backed up by 20/20 eyesight. The experience of eleven pilot training classes in the late 1940s illustrated that point. Of the 3,011 eliminated from training, 1,717 (57 percent) were for flying deficiencies, the very area where psychomotor development would be most important. Conversely, only 45 (1.5 percent) could not handle the academics. Some officials believed that the pilot training academics were so easy that most of those eliminated for academic deficiencies had deliberately failed as a way out of the program. Studies suggested that, other than perhaps increasing self-confidence, education and academic attainment could not materially increase an individual's score on the pilot's portion of the tests or improve his chances of finishing training.⁴⁰

The other objective of the testing, to determine the applicant's officer potential, rested largely on a proficiency in mathematics and English. Applicants who scored well in those two subjects were thought to have the highest intelligence. On the other hand, the humanities (including history) and social sciences were rated next-to-last, just ahead of vocational skills. Navigators scored the highest in officer potential because those selected for navigator training also had a flair for mathematics, especially trigonometry, thereby insuring that they would do well on that portion of the testing. With that advantage factored out, there does not appear to have been any measurable difference in the officer potential scores of those selected for pilot, navigator, or nonrated duties. Thus the first conclusion must be that the dominant position of pilot was not preordained by the initial testing.⁴¹

The dominant role of the pilot was based on a number of factors. Piloting remained the central skill of the Air Force, without which the primary mission (flying) could not have been accomplished. Nonrated officers rarely, if ever, participated in aerial activities and never developed a familiarity with flying and its problems. That made them unqualified to hold positions of responsibility in flying units. Flying units where pilots made up the entire rated force, such as in single seat fighters, correctly limited the opportunities to hold key positions to

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officers with that rating. Further, the experience gained by pilots as aircraft commanders of crew-served aircraft provided those officers with invaluable experience in commanding what was actually a small military unit in the primary mission of the Air Force. These factors, plus their numerical majority in the rated force and the need to keep numbers of pilots in nonrated billets to meet emergencies were sufficient to guarantee pilots the dominant role in the postwar Air Force.

However, other values were at work in the postwar period, values not as firmly rooted in logic and whose presence arguably limited the service's ability to fully integrate nonpilots into the fabric of the officer corps. Understanding these other values requires a brief look at the earlier history of the Air Force and the experiences that formed and solidified the values of a generation of senior officers.

The early experience could best be understood by looking at three important pieces of legislation in the interwar years. The first piece of legislation, the National Defense Act of 1920, required that at least 90 percent of the officers in the Air Service be rated. When passed, over 25 percent were nonrated, far beyond what was needed. Nonrated officers were given one year to earn wings or sufficient numbers of them would be removed from the Air Service to get under the ceiling. The legislation also codified the policy that only rated officers could command flying units. A rated officer was defined as either an aircraft pilot or an observer.⁴²

In June 1926, Public Law 446, 69th Congress (PL 69-446), created the Air Corps and maintained the requirement that 90 percent of all officers must be rated. The new law did not alter the definition of rated officers, but did restrict command in peacetime of flying units to pilots. Command in wartime, however, remained open to any rated officer, the same as in 1920. PL 69-446 was the first indication of the trend since World War I toward pilots performing all airborne duties in the relatively simple aircraft of the time, a trend that progressively limited the rated force to pilots as the years passed.⁴³

A full prohibition against rated officers other than pilots commanding flying units did not arrive until October 1940. In that same year, the first contingent of cadets to be trained strictly as navigators entered training in response to the increasing number of large, crew-served aircraft entering the inventory. A new piece of legislation, Public Law 795, 76th Congress, did not change the definition of a rated officer, but limited command of flying units to those with the rating of pilot. This latest legislation came when over 97 percent of Air Corps' Regular officers were pilots. Just as the Air Corps in the interwar years had been progressively restricted to pilots, so had command of flying units been similarly restricted by officers progressively accustomed to thinking in terms of one type of rated officer.⁴⁴

Slightly over a year after the passage of PL 76-795, the nation entered World War II, a conflict that validated air power as a major factor in war. The

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AAF started World War II with 35 general officers and ended it with 317. Of the first six Chiefs of Staff of the independent Air Force, only the first, Carl Spaatz, had a star in December 1941. The others were no higher than lieutenant colonel, yet all became general officers during the war. Other officers enjoyed a similarly rapid rise if not to such levels. Joseph R. Holtzapple became a second lieutenant in September 1941. In May 1944, with less than three years service, he was a colonel commanding a medium (B-25) bomb group. Virtually all of those promoted rapidly were pilots who had excelled in the command of combat units.

For nearly everyone who served, World War II had a profound effect on their view of the world. For the older officers with deep roots in the Air Corps traditions, the emergence of air power as a major factor in war and their own elevated rank vindicated the years of slow promotions and subordination to the ground-oriented Army. For the younger officers, those commissioned just before or during the war who decided to make the service a career, the war was a watershed in their young lives that shaped their thinking throughout their careers. For everyone, there was victory, public acclaim in winning a war that had widespread popular support, and, finally, an independent Air Force.

It was a heady brew and those who imbibed heavily could not help but feel the effects. Beginning in 1944, and continuing after the war had ended, enthusiastic airmen emphasized and overemphasized the role of air power in achieving military victory. Officers, some of them of flag rank, repeatedly assigned to the Air Force the overwhelming role in future wars. Some of the statements denigrated the Army and Navy by reducing them to the status of support forces. Lt. Gen. Jimmy Doolittle stated publicly that the future wartime role of the Navy would be limited to ferrying supplies and the Army would be needed only to occupy the homeland of an enemy already crushed by air power. Air Force officers attending the professional schools of the Army and Navy made similar statements on several occasions. Such talk drew admonishments, warnings, and, in some cases, reprimands from high-ranking Air Force officers trying to soothe the ruffled feathers of the sister services.⁴⁵

Most senior Air Force officers were more restrained, but all shared the belief that land-based air power would henceforth play the dominant role. With the past vindicated and the future bright, there was little impulse to question most of the policies of the time. Certainly, having accomplished so much, there was no reason to challenge the concept of the pilot as commander, leader, generalist, and dominant figure within the service. That was what made Arnold's idea of an Air Force without pilot domination so remarkable and the reason why that idea failed to take root.

The Air Force emerged from World War II dominated by pilots in the heroic leader mold of Morris Janowitz's trilogy of attributes for the professional officer; the other two attributes, military manager and military technologist, were less in evidence because the education and experience of senior officers

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had not been along those lines. Success was equated with leadership and command, usually of combat units, a role exercised exclusively by pilots. Efficiency reports stressed the traditional military virtues: moral courage, force (moral authority), perseverance, loyalty, endurance (physical and mental), common sense, and reaction to emergencies. That focus dominated the service senior leadership until well into the 1960s even though, as a survey showed, by 1962 only 8 percent of the rank and file officers identified exclusively with the heroic leader image.⁴⁶

Some senior officers, in the immediate postwar period, had difficulty accepting the prospects of an Air Force in which pilots would be a numerical minority and, indeed, where perhaps half of the officers would not even fly. In general, the Air Force's senior leadership, virtually all pilots, had, by the end of World War II, a system of values that closely linked pilots with command, airplanes, flying and, ultimately, with the mission. Having achieved so much by the late 1940s with that concept, the propensity was to see diminishment of any part of that linkage as a diminishing of the whole. That system of values made it difficult for some in positions of authority to accept nonpilots on the basis of their contribution. Consider the following statements, the first by Maj. Gen. Hugh Knerr, the Secretary of the Air Board, in 1946 and the second by Gen. Nathan Twining, the Chief of Staff, in 1957:

Flying in itself will be merely another specialty, no more important relatively than other specialties.⁴⁷

... flying is the primary duty of every pilot. The success of the Air Force ... is directly attributed to our air leadership at all levels.⁴⁸

The 1946 statement was made at a time when the nascent air arm was just beginning to address the needs of an independent service and when the influence of Arnold's guidance was still strong. The second statement, made in defense of the proficiency flying program, more accurately stated the value system wherein flying, pilots, leadership, and the mission formed a tightly knitted fabric that resisted the intrusion of other specialties.

The service's struggle to keep Congress from deleting flight pay for senior officers further illustrated the point. The money that flight pay brought to general officers was not the issue to those defending the service's position. Neither was there any intent to make a case that senior officers would actively fly combat missions in time of war. The ability of an officer simultaneously to command a unit and participate in its airborne mission stopped at the wing level and usually at the rank of colonel.

The Air Force's support of flight pay for general officers rested on two dogmatic beliefs: all general officers must fly to keep abreast of technological

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changes, and general officers must be cockpit minded if they are to make decisions affecting the lives of those who do fly. A poll taken in 1947 showed that over 94 percent of officers in all grades supported the service's position. That position remained essentially unchanged into the 1970s despite the fact that most senior officers had been far removed from the cockpit for many years and had gotten their flying time in obsolete aircraft equally far removed from the cutting edge of technological change.⁴⁹ These realities had little effect upon men who loved to fly and were afraid of losing touch with the world that dominated their earlier careers and still constituted the primary mission of the service. That made flight pay in itself an issue only to the extent that it was related to the prevalent value system: if flight pay for general officers was lost, it would diminish the impact of general officers flying, degrade them as leaders, and, ultimately, degrade the mission itself.

The problem within the service became acute when nonpilots interpreted the emphasis on pilots to be an overemphasis carried out at their expense. Allowing only pilots to hold positions of responsibility in flying organizations as well as a sizable number of key nonrated billets taxed the service's credibility among nonpilots to the breaking point. That became particularly true in the 1960s when a postwar generation of nonpilots arrived at the years of service to be considered for positions of leadership and high positions only to be frustrated by policies that offered them scant recognition. In 1970, only 30 percent of the officer corps were pilots, down from 42 percent in the mid-1950s, but 88 percent of the generals were pilots, as were 65 percent of the colonels. In the case of colonels, that dominance existed despite less than 25 percent of the colonels' billets calling specifically for a pilot.

* * * * *

By the early 1970s, the situation facing the Air Force with regard to pilot domination might best be framed as a dilemma. Pilot domination was being maintained, and could still be maintained, but at the cost of poor retention, low morale, and a pervasive discontent among the rest of the officers. Looking ahead, the negative factors could only get worse as the percentage of pilots continued to decline in an Air Force that was becoming the highly technical service General Arnold had envisioned almost a generation before.

Conclusion

The end of the American military involvement in Vietnam in 1973 marked the thirty-third year of almost continual personnel turbulence in the military establishment, the longest such period in American history. Starting in 1940, when the American mobilization for World War II began, stability in personnel policies, one of the traditional hallmarks of the peacetime military, ceased. In its place came peaks and valleys that marked build-ups and force reductions, and personnel policies cobbled together on short notice with little if any regard for consistency or the implications for the future.

The Cold War resulted in capricious times that negated much of the extensive planning that took place between 1945 and 1947. The willingness of the AAF's senior officers to entertain a number of new and radical concepts had made this the most dynamic time in Air Force history in terms of officer personnel policies. To some degree, the policies of this period were in reaction to lessons rooted in the prewar Air Corps and the experience of World War II, but mainly they were to fashion the framework for an independent Air Force.

Basically, these policies reflected a set of parameters consistent with the previous peacetime experience of the American military. At the center was a traditional force of Regular officers around which wartime mobilization could take place, and as in the past, a permanent promotion system would govern the rank structure.

On the other hand, the traditional was balanced by several radical changes. The corps system, the framework of the Army, was jettisoned for being too inefficient and too difficult to manage. In the Air Force, career fields, not corps, would house the many skills of the service. Most personnel management would be centralized at the Air Staff level where modern management practices and state of the art data-handling equipment would try to make certain that policies affecting assignments, training, and promotions were as fair to both the individual and the service as possible. Virtually all officers were placed in a single group, the Line Officer category, where they would compete against each other for promotions. Promotions, like personnel policies in general, would be centrally managed rather than being parcelled out to some subordinate entity as had been the case in the Army, where the individual corps had a significant say in the matter.

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Beyond the questions of structure and management practices, three other major postwar decisions addressed markedly different issues. These decisions centered around three types of integration: gender, race, and skills. During World War II, for the first time in American history, women had been incorporated into the military in roles other than as nurses. This experiment proved successful enough for all of the military services to incorporate women into their permanent postwar establishments. The Air Force accomplished this in 1948 with the establishment of the Women in the Air Force, not as a corps, but as an entity subject to separate management.

The experience with race during World War II was more traditional, with Black Americans serving in segregated units, as had been the practice since the Civil War. Racial segregation, however, failed, producing tension, discord, and even violence, while denying blacks the chance to contribute materially to the military effort. Propelled by postwar pressure from a civil rights movement just beginning to make its presence felt, an increased willingness on the part of the federal government to speak out rather than leave racial matters to the individual states, and its own desire to make efficient use of potentially valuable manpower, the military establishment moved steadily, albeit erratically and reluctantly, toward racial integration. The Air Force began the process in 1949 and completed it in 1952.

Skills integration, in contrast, was based on perceived future needs rather than past experience. The Air Force needed an officer corps with a spectrum of skills sufficiently broad to meet the needs of an independent service. Yet the three thousand men of the Air Corps' regular cadre, the only officers immediately available to the fledgling Air Force, were almost exclusively rated pilots. To procure and hold the necessary skills, the officer corps was opened up to every skill commensurate with service requirements, whether rated or nonrated. Paralleling that decision were plans to provide the new members with challenging and rewarding careers regardless of skill or career field. Of all the decisions of the late 1940s, the skills integration was probably the most far reaching in its impact.

As could have been expected, some of these changes encountered resistance, notably in the inability of some senior officers to accommodate nonrated officers into what had previously been a pilot's service and in whether the air staff or the major commanders would control officer career development. Both controversies pitted traditionalists, who valued the way things were done in the past, against the advocates of efficiency and modern management practices. Still, most of the changes were accepted, and the postwar planning most likely would have led to a stable peacetime establishment had not the world, and American society, changed radically over the next two decades.

The Korean War, and the resultant intensification of the Cold War, ushered in the era of the large peacetime military, negated a considerable amount of the early planning, and presented the Air Force with a number of new problems. In

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this new era, the Air Force found itself employing both traditional peacetime measures and wartime expedients to maintain its officer corps. In many cases, these means proved inadequate since, after 1950, the era of the Cold War was neither a time of war nor a time of peace.

The most obvious contradiction of the Cold War era was the protracted presence of large numbers of Reserve officers on active duty, a condition usually encountered only in wartime. The Reservists were essential since the number of active duty Regular officers fell far short of requirements. Yet, their long-term presence was not provided for in the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, the statute governing the regular establishment. These Reservists faced uncertain times where adverse budget cycles could sever their active duty tenure with as little as three months notice. The conflict between the shaky status of Reservists and the need for them was probably the fundamental problem of the period.

Promotions provided another anomaly. The Air Force permanent rank structure mandated by the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 was inadequate once the Korean War expansion began and remained that way for the entire time covered by this narrative. This forced the service to turn to temporary promotions, another wartime expedient, to provide both the needed rank structure and a means whereby active duty Reserve officers could earn promotion. Yet when Congress, observing that temporary promotions were not controlled by legal statutes, placed artificially low ceilings on field-grade billets, the whole concept of peacetime temporary promotions was called into question. Six times between 1959 and 1972 the Air Force requested Congress to raise the field-grade ceilings, and six times Congress agreed. Had any of those request been denied, the result would have been demotions, canceled promotions, and the separation of Reserve officers from active duty. Grade relief was necessary, but it was hardly conducive to a sense of stability and a feeling of job security.

On the other hand, getting the gross numbers necessary to staff the officers corps was never a real problem due to the peacetime draft. The draft, yet another expedient usually associated with wartime, drove many young men to seek an Air Force commission in lieu of service in the Army. Most of those with college educations opted for nonrated duties and shorter active duty commitments, leaving the rated force to be supplied primarily by the Aviation Cadet program, which attracted few college graduates. This led to an extensive, and largely futile, effort to make the Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps, a four-year commissioning program and potentially the best source of well-educated officers, conform to the shifting requirements of military manpower. The procurement problem, in terms of providing college-educated officers, was not solved until the termination of all the programs not requiring degrees. Ironically, the last ended in the mid-1960s, just as the Vietnam War was making the military unpopular on the nation's campuses.

It came as no surprise when the Air Force began experiencing a serious officer retention problem when the first officers who entered service during the

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Korean War came to the end of their active duty obligations. Here, the basic problem was not the draft, which furnished the required numbers, but the absence of another wartime mechanism: the ability to hold onto individuals for as long as they were needed. Officers were free to leave at the end of their obligations, and they did in unacceptably large numbers. Worse, it was the better educated officers who left the service for better paying jobs in an expanding and prosperous civilian economy. Conversely, the officers with lesser academic achievements, and correspondingly fewer civilian opportunities, tended to stay in service. This only exacerbated the chronic problem associated with the low academic attainments of Air Force officers.

The programs to improve retention had to plow fresh ground every step of the way because never before in the national experience had the military encountered such a problem. Two Air Force programs, Projects Green Light and Top Star, attacked the problem in a number of ways. Regular commissions were increasingly reserved for college-educated officers, the personnel system became more sensitive to the needs of young officers, and questions were raised about whether the military's traditional paternalistic attitude toward its members might also be construed as interference in private lives. The national establishment helped by making military pay more competitive with, but by no means equal to, civilian compensation. Retention had improved by the mid-1960s, but never to the desired levels. This may well have been an indication that a large peacetime military supported by a draft, but in competition with a robust economy for skilled manpower, might always be plagued by retention problems.

Only in the late 1960s, after almost two decades of personnel turbulence that had generated a substantial body of knowledge about managing a large peacetime military, did the Defense Department begin the planning that ultimately led to the badly needed revision of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947, the statutory basis for officer management. Even then, the revised statute, ultimately enacted as the Defense Officer Personnel Management Act, had to be put on hold for a decade until each of the military services had restructured its officer corps sufficiently to fit within the rather loose framework of the new legislation, an indication of the chaotic conditions throughout the military, not just in the Air Force.

Within the Air Force, the USAF Personnel Plan, developed in conjunction with DOPMA, established management objectives and policies for all the service's personnel, including civilians, and created the mechanisms that began restructuring the officer corps to fit within DOPMA parameters while providing the service with comprehensive in-house management practices of its own. Computer and mathematical models assisted by allowing officials, for the first time, to judge the effect of personnel decisions over protracted periods. This, in turn, allowed planners to look ahead several years and address problems before they required crash programs to correct.

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The late 1960s was also a time during which the Air Force had to begin rethinking some of the decisions made during the previous twenty years. Those decisions were challenged by changes in society outside the Air Force and by a generation of younger officers who had a different outlook than officers commissioned during World War II. At issue was the use of categories (male/female, black/white, rated/nonrated) that limited both their participation in the service and their career aspirations in ways increasingly viewed as unfair and inappropriate.

The official support given the WAF in the immediate post-World War II period virtually disappeared after the failure of women to respond to the colors during the Korean War and the early 1960s. Women, both officer and enlisted, had few career options, limited assignment flexibility, and greatly reduced promotion potential regardless of individual ability. The WAF was reduced to a tiny token force whose main objective was surviving at the very fringes of the service.

This state of affairs had almost vanished by 1970. Social changes that placed ever larger numbers of women in the work place, including jobs earlier though inappropriate for females, and the feminist movement, which challenged many of the social and legal distinctions based on male domination, swept away the public's negative attitude toward women in uniform. Reducing the draft by expanding the recruitment base led to the revocation of many of the statutory restrictions on women in the service and ensured that the drive to increase the role of women in the military had political support. Under pressure, the Air Force amended many of its regulations to accommodate these changes, including the all-important provision that women no longer had to choose between the service and motherhood. From less than one half of one percent of the total Air Force in 1965, women were destined to increase their participation twentyfold in a decade.

The drive in the late 1940s to racially integrate the military was another policy decision that lay fallow for a protracted number of years once it had achieved an initial success. The military had not undertaken integration in response to any social or moral concerns, but merely in the interest of increased efficiency. Then, having integrated the work place and onbase facilities, the military considered that it had accomplished that objective and showed no interest in supporting its minority personnel who might encounter problems in dealing with the larger society. Black personnel who encountered discrimination beyond the base perimeter could expect little support from the military establishment. In doing so, the military forfeited its position as a progressive institution on racial matters, placed itself at odds with the growing civil rights movement, and left itself open to the tensions and violence of the 1960s.

Only in the late 1960s, did the military, the Air Force included, fully grasp that the base perimeter fence was not a impermeable barrier between the military and civilian realms. What happened in one realm, be it good or bad, had

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an effect on the other side. Race was a fact of American life, a fact that military uniforms and military discipline could neither suppress or change. As a part of a larger effort to address the social ills of the Air Force, be it domestic violence or racial tensions, official service policy included support and assistance for blacks wherever they encountered discrimination, official recognition of the uniqueness of black culture, and a comprehensive race relations program.

The last contentious issue of note involved the integration of individual skills within the Air Force, where, despite the post-World War II promises of rewarding careers for everyone, virtually every policy decision of the period favored rated officers, specifically pilots. The most public manifestation of this preference came in the frequent clashes with Congress and the Office of the Secretary of Defense over how many pilots the Air Force really needed. More subtle were assignments, where other rated and nonrated officers sometimes found themselves denied advancement opportunities or desirable assignments to make room for pilots not in flying billets and where individual qualifications often were of secondary importance. Policies of this type remained in effect throughout the period of this study, but by the late 1960s, the declining percentage of the officer force with pilots' wings and the maturing of a generation of officers with different ideas on how the Air Force value system should work were beginning to create difficulties.

In sum, the period of this study was something of a transitional period in which the fledgling Air Force had to deal not only with being a new service, but also with the implications of a new experience for the nation: a large peacetime military raised from a much wider recruitment base than before. Much of the transition, at least in policy terms, began to bear fruit in the 1970s. In 1970, the Air Force raised the unofficial ceiling on Regular commissions for nonrated officers to forty percent, the first such increase since the founding of the service. By 1972, a comprehensive social actions program was addressing social problems ranging from alcoholism to racial tensions to the growing number of women in uniform.

In 1974, Congress finally ended the long-standing controversy over rated management by enacting the Air Crew Incentive Pay Act, which mandated who could and who could not draw flight pay. In that same year, command of flying units was opened to rated officers other than pilots, but only after a group of navigators filed a formal grievance with the Chief of Staff and took the all-important additional step of informing Congress of the situation. In 1976, the Women in the Air Force was abolished, formally ending the separate status of women, placing them under the rules and regulations of their individual career fields, and more fully integrating them into the service's fabric. Finally, in 1979, Congress enacted DOPMA, bringing legal statutes better into line with contemporary officer personnel requirements.

If there was another lesson to be learned from this period it was a very human one: that people were undoubtedly the most volatile entity within the Air

Conclusion

Force. Despite the enormous changes over the preceding thirty years, the Air Force remained very much wedded to the airplane as the chief *raison d'être* of the service and the institution remained overwhelmingly masculine in its character. Yet everyone needed training, opportunities for advancement, support, and, within the broadest possible parameters, an unimpeded chance to excel if they were to truly contribute to the service and its mission. If individuals contributed to the mission of the service, they expected compensation, not only in their pay but also in terms of promotion, assignment opportunities, professional education, and job security. They did not wish to be placed in increasingly artificial categories, such as rating, gender, and race, that placed them at a disadvantage and resulted in morale problems, lower retention (particularly for the more ambitious and capable officers), and inefficient use of personnel. On the other hand, the flurry of activity in personnel matters during the late 1960s and early 1970s indicated that progress was being made and many lessons of the previous three decades were being translated into far-reaching policy changes. Clearly, the second generation of officers of the United States Air force was going to live and work in a markedly different milieu than its predecessor.

Appendices

Appendix 1

United States Air Force Line Officers By Rating 1939-1973

United States Air Force Line Officers
By Rating
1939-1973
(in thousands)

Year	Pilot	Other Rated	Nonrated	Total
1939	-	-	-	2.6
1940*	1.9	less than .1	less than .1	2.0
1941	-	-	-	20.4
1942	-	-	-	55.9
1943	-	-	-	205.8
1944	130.7	42.3	160.8	333.4
1945	153.2	69.0	159.0	381.4
1946	36.7	11.1	33.9	81.7
1947	10.2	2.8	29.7	42.7
1948	24.6	5.8	18.7	48.9
1949	29.2	6.2	20.3	55.7
1950	28.0	5.8	21.1	54.4
1951	46.7	13.2	40.9	101.3
1952	50.8	16.7	54.3	122.2
1953	48.4	13.6	61.4	123.9
1954	49.7	15.0	59.9	124.9
1955	53.1	18.1	59.6	131.3
1956	55.8	19.6	63.1	138.1
1957	57.6	19.6	58.4	136.2
1958	54.8	18.1	54.8	128.4
1959	54.0	17.6	54.6	126.7
1960	53.7	17.5	54.2	126.0
1961	52.1	18.4	53.5	124.6
1962	52.9	19.2	58.6	131.2
1963	50.4	18.8	60.9	130.6
1964	48.9	18.5	63.2	131.1
1965	46.8	18.1	63.6	129.0
1966	44.2	18.4	66.2	129.3
1967	43.1	17.8	72.3	133.7
1968	43.0	17.2	77.6	138.3
1969	41.4	16.4	75.8	134.4
1970	39.0	15.2	74.1	129.1
1971	38.9	14.8	72.6	125.9
1972	38.9	14.4	67.1	121.4
1973	36.9	14.3	63.2	114.9

*Regular officers only.

Source: Combs and Ripke, "Selected Demographic Characteristics of Regular Officers in the Army Air Corps, 1927-1940;" United States Air Force Statistical Digest (23 Volumes, World War II to 1970).

Appendix 2

United States Air Force Line General Officers 1939-1973

United States Air Force Line General Officers 1939-1973

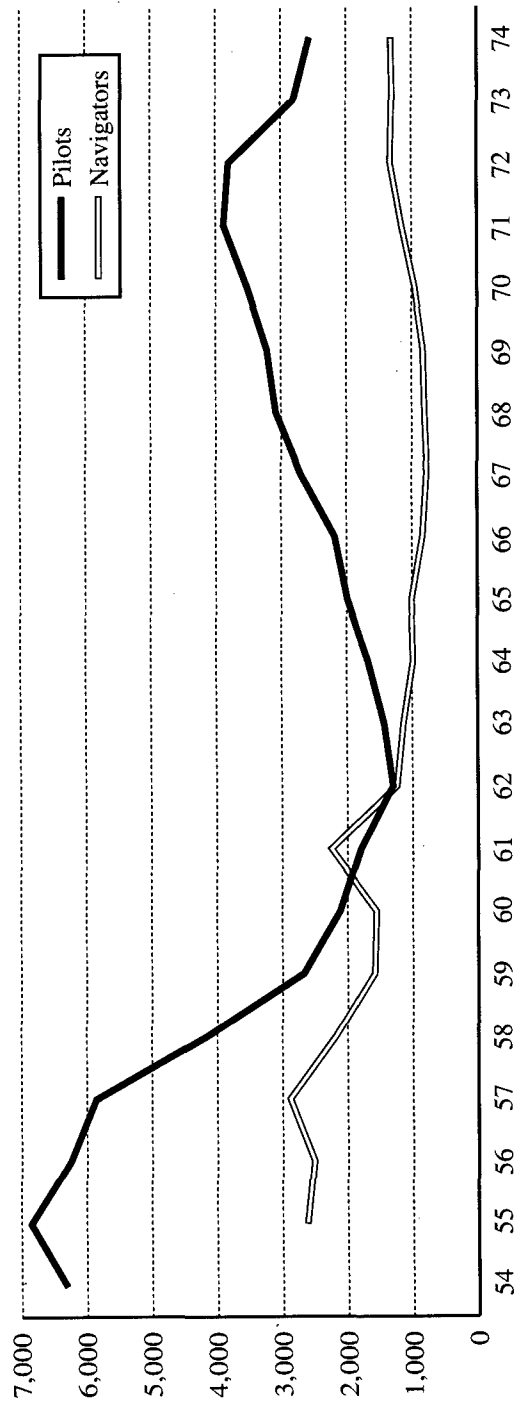
Year	Pilots	Other Rated	Nonrated	Unknown	Total
1939	6	-	-	-	6
1940	19	-	-	-	19
1941	33	-	-	2	35
1942	117	2	-	3	122
1943	190	5	3	20	218
1944	249	5	6	31	291
1945	272	5	6	34	317
1946	163	4	5	-	174
1947	155	3	7	-	165
1948	160	4	11	-	175
1949	186	5	16	-	207
1950	200	3	18	-	221
1951	247	3	29	-	279
1952	271	3	40	-	314
1953	322	4	42	-	368
1954	313	4	42	-	359
1955	334	3	41	-	378
1956	356	3	45	-	404
1957	345	3	44	-	392
1958	352	3	49	-	404
1959	325	2	43	-	370
1960	354	1	43	-	398
1961	356	1	53	-	410
1962	364	1	51	-	416
1963	359	3	45	-	407
1964	366	3	42	-	411
1965	370	3	39	-	412
1966	365	1	44	-	410
1967	364	1	46	-	411
1968	367	1	55	-	423
1969	363	1	56	-	420
1970	366	3	45	-	412
1971	358	5	47	-	426
1972	346	5	52	-	420
1973	334	8	56	-	411

Source: United States Air Force Statistical Digest. Twenty volumes, World War II to 1965; Jerry W. Combs and Robert J. Ripke, "Selected Demographic Characteristics of Regular Officers in the Army Air Corps, 1927-1940;" "Biographical Data on Air Force General Officers, 1918-1953;" Memo, Eaker to the Assistant Secretary of War, November 26, 1946; Memo, Assistant Chief of the Air Staff, Personnel to Lt Gen Hoyt Vandenberg, June 20, 1945. The "Unknown" column is a result of incomplete data from World War II.

Appendix 3

Flight Training Fiscal Years 1954–1974

Appendix 3
Flight Training
 Fiscal Years 1954-1974



Navigator data is unknown for 1954 and is approximate for 1955. Sources: *Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1957*, p 314; *ATC histories, Jul 1-Jun 30, 1954*, vol I, p 136; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1955*, vol I, p 22; *Jul 1-Dec 31, 1955*, vol I, pp 39 and 69; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1956*, vol I, p 71; *Jul 1-Dec 31, 1956*, vol I, pp 41 and 76; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1957*, vol I, p 104; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1958*, vol I, pp 26 and 39; *Jul 1-Dec 31, 1958*, vol I, pp 26-27; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1959*, vol I, p 84; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1960*, vol I, pp 81-82; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1961*, vol I, pp 99 and 116; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962*, vol I, pp 99 and 121; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963*, vol I, pp 85 and 106; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964*, vol I, pp 123 and 146; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1965*, vol I, pp 184 and 202; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1967*, vol I, pp 186 and 214; *Jan 1-Jun 30, 1968*, vol I, pp 175 and 201; *FY 1969*, vol I, pp 229 and 260; *FY 1970*, vol I, pp 211 and 255; *FY 1971*, vol I, pp 202 and 210; *FY 1972*, vol I, pp 192 and 232.

Appendix 4

Public Law 381—80th Congress

**The Officer Personnel Act of 1947
(selected extracts)**

Public Law 381—80th Congress

**The Officer Personnel Act of 1947
(selected extracts)**

TITLE V—ARMY

Regular Army Officers—Authorized Strength

Sec. 501. There is authorized a strength of fifty-one thousand active list commissioned officers in the Regular Army. . . .

**Regular Army Officers—Appointments—Assignments in Branch—
Authorized Strength of Branches**

Sec. 502. (a) . . . Regular Army Officers shall be permanently appointed by the President . . . in the commissioned officer grades of major general, brigadier general, colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, captain, first lieutenant, and second lieutenant.

(c) Appointments of officers in . . . grades below that of brigadier general . . . shall be made in the Air Corps, . . . in the Medical Department, as chaplains, and as professors at the United States Military Academy; but otherwise they shall be made in the Regular Army without specification of branch, arm, or service.

(d) The . . . officer strength of the Air Corps . . . shall, from time to time, be determined by the Secretary of War (within the authorized active list commissioned officer strength of the Regular Army and within any limitations provided by laws enacted after January 1, 1947).

(e) . . . officers appointed or assigned in one branch, arm, or service, may be detailed in, or for duty with, any other branch, arm, or service.

**General Officers of the Regular Army—Authorized Number—Seniority
List—Date of Rank**

Sec. 503 (a) There is authorized . . . strength of general officers of the Regular Army . . . equal to three-fourths of 1 per centum of (the) . . . officer strength of the Regular Army . . . Provided . . . that of the three hundred and thirty-four Regular Army officers authorized in the permanent grade above that of colonel . . . there shall be in the Army less the Air Corps and in the Air Corps, respectively, not more than such numbers as are derived by allotments to each, proportional to the respective strengths authorized for the Army . . . and the Air Corps . . . and . . . there shall be no more than 50 per centum in permanent grade above that of brigadier general . . .

**General Officers—Assignments—Positions Carrying Rank of General and
Lieutenant General**

Sec. 504 (b) The President is authorized . . . to designate certain positions . . . which shall carry the rank of general and lieutenant general . . . and to . . . assign to such positions any of the general officers holding office in the grade of major general or higher grade, under permanent or temporary appointment . . . *Provided* . . . that the total number of officers serving . . . in grades above major general . . . shall not exceed . . . forty-four in grade of lieutenant general or higher grade, of which not more than nine shall be above the grade of lieutenant general, and of the nine above the grade of

Air Force Officers

lieutenant general, one shall be the Chief of Staff of the Army and one shall be . . . the corresponding position (in) the Army Air Forces, and of the remaining seven above the grade of lieutenant general there shall be not more than four in the Army less the Air Corps and not more than three in the Air Corps and of the total forty-four in the grade of lieutenant general or higher, there shall be not more than twenty-seven in the army less the Air Corps and not more than seventeen in the Air Corps . . .

Regular Army Officers—Authorized Number in Grades Below Brigadier General—Promotion Lists—Seniority—Date of Rank

Sec 505 (b) (1) The authorized numbers in each of the several grades . . . shall be prescribed by the Secretary of War . . . but the numbers . . . shall not exceed the following percentage of the total strength authorized . . . 8 per centum in grade of colonel, 14 per centum in grade of lieutenant colonel, 19 per centum in grade of major, 23 per centum in grade of captain, 18 per centum in grade of first lieutenant and 18 per centum in grade of second lieutenant.

(c) (2) The Air Corps promotion list shall contain the names of all . . . officers of the Air Corps . . .

(d) (1) Among officers of the same grade . . . names shall be arranged . . . and seniority among such officers shall be established thereby. The officer whose name appears first on the list shall be the senior, the officer whose name appears second on the list shall be the senior next below the first, . . . and so on throughout the list.

(d) (2) . . . upon appointment of . . . (an) officer in any grade, such officer's name shall be placed at the bottom of the list of officers of the grade in which appointed.

Regular Army Officers—Procurement of Additional Officers

Sec. 506. (a) . . . the President . . . is authorized to appoint additional officers in the Regular Army . . .

(b) All persons appointed officers . . . shall be citizens of the United States, at least twenty-one years of age, of good moral character, physically qualified for active military service, and . . . other qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

(c) . . . each person . . . commissioned an officer in the Regular Army shall . . . be credited with an amount of service equivalent to the total period of active Federal service performed after attaining the age of twenty-one years as a commissioned officer in the Army . . . or any component thereof subsequent to December 31, 1947 . . .

(d) . . . Persons who have no service credit (or) . . . less than three years service shall be appointed in the grade of second lieutenant; persons who are credited with three . . . but less than seven years' service, shall be appointed in the grade of first lieutenant; persons who are credited with seven or more years service shall be appointed in the grade of captain.

Regular Army Officers—Selection Boards—Promotion Generally

Sec. 507. (a) . . . general officers . . . and . . . officers of the Regular Army shall be permanently promoted to . . . the grades of major general, brigadier general, colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, and captain in the regular Army only when recommended for promotion . . . by a selection board.

(8)(b) In time of emergency . . . the President is authorized. . . to suspend the operation of all or any parts of the several provisions of law pertaining to promotion.

Regular Army Officers—Promotion to grade of First Lieutenant

Sec. 508. . . . officers in permanent grade of second lieutenant shall be promoted to . . . the grade of first lieutenant . . . on completion of three years service, and the authorized number of officers in the grade of first lieutenant shall, from time to time, be temporarily increased as necessary to authorize such appointments Second lieutenants found to be not fully qualified shall have their commissions revoked and be discharged . . .

Regular Army Officers—Promotion to Grades of Captain, Major, Lieutenant Colonel—Elimination of those not Promoted

Sec. 509.(a) . . . officers shall be promoted to . . . the permanent grades of captain, major, and lieutenant colonel . . . or eliminated . . . as hereinafter in this section prescribed.

(b) each . . . officer . . . shall be considered by a selection board for promotion to the permanent grade of captain, major, and lieutenant colonel, sufficiently in advance of the date on which he completes seven, fourteen, and twenty-one years service, respectively, so that such officer, if recommended . . . may be promoted to . . . such grade on the date on which he completes such length of service . . .

(c) Based upon the number of vacancies existing and anticipated in any promotion list . . . the Secretary of War may direct a selection board to consider and recommend for promotion . . . officers . . . irrespective of the length of service of such officers.

(d) Whenever any officer is considered by any selection board . . . for promotion to the grade of captain, major, or lieutenant colonel . . . such board shall also consider all officers of that officer's grade . . . who names appear above his on that list . . .

(g) The phrase "deferred officer" . . . means any officer considered and not recommended by any selection board . . . under the provisions of this section.

(h) If an officer fails selection to any grade but is subsequently . . . promoted to that grade, his failure in that grade from which promoted shall not . . . be counted as a failure of selection when . . . considered for further promotion. If a "deferred officer" is not recommended by the next consecutive selection board, he shall be . . . eliminated from the active list and retired or separated . . . *Provided, That, if . . . he is within two years of becoming entitled to retirement . . . he shall be retained on the active list in the permanent grade held until qualified for retirement and then retired . . .*

(k) Irrespective of any vacancy in any grade, whenever any officer . . . completes for promotion purposes . . . seven . . . fourteen . . . and twenty-one years' service . . . the authorized number of officers in the grade of captain, major, and lieutenant colonel . . . shall be temporarily increased, if necessary to authorize the appointment in that grade of such officer and all officers in his grade . . . whose name appears above his on the recommended list . . .

(l) . . . whenever in the Air Corps . . . there are vacancies in the grade of captain, major, or lieutenant colonel, respectively, and . . . there are or will be an inadequate number of officers in that grade with certain special qualifications . . . a selection board (may) select a specific number of . . . officers having such special qualifications . . . except that officers not selected shall not be deemed to have been considered for

Air Force Officers

promotion within the meaning . . . of this section.

Regular Army Officers—Promotion to Grade of Colonel

Sec. 510. (b) . . . the Secretary of War shall direct a selection board to select . . . a prescribed number of officers . . . for promotion to (colonel) and shall furnish to such board a list of . . . officers to be considered. . . . The officers selected . . . shall be those who . . . are the best qualified officers . . . *Provided* . . . That whenever in the opinion of the Secretary of War . . . there is or will be an inadequate number of officers . . . possessing certain special qualifications required for the Air Corps, he may . . . direct, that, of the officers to be selected . . . for the grade of colonel, specified numbers possess certain specified qualifications.

(c) . . . appointments to fill vacancies in the grade of colonel . . . may be made at any time, but it is not mandatory that authorized numbers in that grade . . . be maintained.

Regular Army Officers—Promotion to Grade of Brigadier General

Sec. 511. (b) . . . the Secretary of War shall direct a selection board to select . . . a prescribed number of officers for promotion to that grade, and . . . he may . . . direct that . . . specific numbers have experience qualifying them for service in or with certain specified branches, arms, or services. (c) It is not mandatory that the Secretary of War direct the selection of numbers sufficient to produce the numbers authorized for that grade . . .

Regular Army Officers—Promotion to Grade of Major General

Sec. 512. (b) Same comment as Sec. 511. (b) (above)

(c) Same comment as Sec. 511. (c) (above)

General Officers—Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of Services—Promotion to General Officer Grade with a View to Assignment as Chief or Assistant Chief of Service

Sec. 513. (a) Each of the offices of chiefs . . . and their assistants . . . shall be filled by the President appointing . . . an officer, not below the grade of lieutenant colonel An officer appointed to such an office shall normally continue in that assignment . . . for four years but such assignments may be terminated . . . or . . . extended by the President in his discretion.

Regular Army Officers—Elimination From Active List—Mandatory Retirement or Separation

Sec. 514. (a) (1) . . . if in the permanent grade of brigadier general or . . . permanent grade below that . . . be retired on that date upon which he attains the age of sixty years, and, if in the permanent grade of major general, be retired on the date upon which he attains the age of sixty-two years . . .

(c) . . . whenever . . . there is an excessive number of officers . . . in any grade who have completed thirty "years' service" . . . a board (may) . . . recommend for retirement a specified number thereof. . .

(d) (1) . . . each officer . . . in the permanent grade of major general . . . shall be . . . retired on the fifth anniversary . . . of his appointment in that permanent grade or

... thirty days after ... thirty-five "years' service", whichever is later ...

(d) (2) ... each officer ... in the permanent grade of brigadier general ... shall be ... retired on the fifth anniversary ... of his appointment in that permanent grade or ... thirty days after ... thirty-five "years' service", whichever is later, unless he is appointed in the permanent grade of major general ...

**Army Officers—Temporary Grades—Temporary Appointments of Officers
in the Army of the United States—Active Duty of Reserve Component**

Sec. 515. (a) Whenever the number of Regular Army officers ... in the grades of major general, brigadier general, colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, captain, and first lieutenant, respectively is less than the number authorized ... the additional number authorized in these several grades may be filled by temporary appointments ...

(c) ... any commissioned officer of the Regular Army, or of any of the reserve components of the Army ... serving on active Federal duty, any be appointed to any temporary grade equal to or higher than his permanent grade without vacating his permanent appointment or any temporary appointment ...

(d) ... any officer of any Reserve component of the Army ... may, with his own consent, be ordered to active Federal duty ... and in time of national emergency expressly declared by Congress may be so ordered without his consent. Ant officer of any reserve component ... serving on active duty may, with his own consent, be temporarily appointed to a grade ... either higher or lower than the grade held by him in such Reserve component ... and shall not affect the ... grade held by him in his Reserve component.

(e) In time of emergency ... and in time of war, the President is authorized to appoint qualified persons (including persons who hold no Regular Army or Reserve status) as temporary officers ... in any of the several commissioned officer grades . . . The appointment of a temporary officer ... shall continue during the emergency or war ... and for six months thereafter.

**Regular Army Officers—Promotions to be Made on July 1, 1948 to Fill
Initial Requirements in Grades of Captain, Major, and
Lieutenant Colonel**

Sec. 518. (a) (4) Officers named for consideration ... but not selected ... under the provisions of this section shall not ... be deemed to have failed of selection.

(c) For the purpose of initially filling permanent grade requirements ... in grades of lieutenant colonel, major, and captain (appointments to be made on July 1, 1948, or as soon as practicable thereafter) ... the Secretary of War may either (1) direct a selection board to consider officers ... in order of seniority ... (and) recommend those who are fully qualified for promotion ... or, (2) furnish to a selection board with a list of officers ... and direct the board to ... recommend ... the best qualified of those listed

Appendix 5

Public Law 349—83rd Congress

The Officer Grade Limitation Act of 1954
(selected extracts)

Public Law 349—83rd Congress

**The Officer Grade Limitation Act of 1954
(selected extracts)**

Title I—Army

Sec 101. The number of . . . officers on active duty in each of the following grades . . . when compared to the total number of . . . officers on active duty . . . shall not exceed the numbers set forth in the following table:

<u>Officer Strength</u>	<u>General</u>	<u>Colonel</u>	<u>Lt. Colonel</u>	<u>Major</u>
50,000	350	3,352	6,940	9,350
60,000	400	3,752	8,045	10,950
70,000	425	4,102	9,150	12,500
80,000	450	4,452	10,205	14,050
90,000	475	4,752	11,260	15,600
100,000	495	5,002	12,265	17,060
110,000	510	5,202	13,270	18,370
120,000	520	5,402	14,175	19,680
130,000	530	5,602	15,075	20,890
140,000	540	5,802	15,875	22,095
150,000	550	6,002	16,675	23,300

Title II—Navy and Marine Corps

Sec. 201. Of the total number of line officers serving on active duty at any one time . . . the number . . . in each of the grades above lieutenant shall . . . be no greater than the number appropriate to the total number as set forth in the following table:

<u>Officer Strength</u>	<u>Admiral</u>	<u>Captain</u>	<u>Commander</u>	<u>Lt. Commander</u>
32,000	215	1,920	3,840	5,760
40,000	222	2,320	4,498	7,080
50,000	228	2,756	5,235	8,650
60,000	237	3,140	5,851	10,148
70,000	244	3,479	6,374	11,487
80,000	252	3,782	6,821	12,752
90,000	259	4,053	7,205	13,914
100,000	262	4,295	7,538	15,030
125,000	291	4,792	8,201	17,500
150,000	305	5,165	8,683	19,500
175,000	323	5,441	9,017	21,175
200,000	342	5,640	9,244	22,500
250,000	379	5,854	9,504	24,600

Air Force Officers

Title III—Air Force

Sec. 301. The number of . . . officers . . . on active duty . . . shall not exceed the numbers . . . set forth in the following table, applicable to the total number of officers . . . :

<u>Officer Strength</u>	<u>General</u>	<u>Colonel</u>	<u>Lt. Colonel</u>	<u>Major</u>
50,000	312	3,133	6,065	9,455
60,000	324	3,540	6,822	11,298
70,000	336	3,857	7,427	13,125
80,000	349	4,107	7,920	14,936
90,000	363	4,299	8,316	16,740
100,000	380	4,440	8,620	18,530
110,000	398	4,750	9,350	20,295
120,000	416	5,020	10,056	22,056
130,000	434	5,273	10,725	23,803
140,000	452	5,484	11,368	25,536
150,000	470	5,665	12,000	27,255
160,000	478	5,842	12,608	28,976
170,000	486	5,794	13,175	30,685
180,000	495	6,075	13,716	32,328

Sec. 302. If the number of . . . officers . . . falls between two strengths set forth in (the left-hand) column . . . the numbers in the (other) columns . . . shall be determined by mathematical interpolation

Sec. 306. Whenever circumstances require that the actual strength . . . be more than one hundred eighty thousand, the Secretary of the Air Force shall, in general conformity with the table set forth in section 301 . . . , fix the authorized strength of each of the grades covered by that table.

Title IV—Miscellaneous Provisions

Sec. 403. The President may suspend all or any part of the provision of this Act in time of war, or . . . national emergency hereafter declared by the Congress or the President.
Approved May 5, 1954.

Appendix 6

Public Law 625, 80th Congress

**Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948
(selected extracts)**

Public Law 625, 80th Congress

**Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948
(Selected Extracts)**

Title III—Air Force

Sec 301. All laws or parts of laws which . . . authorize enlistments, and appointments of commissioned . . . officers in the Regular Air Force shall . . . be construed to include authority to . . . appoint women in the Regular Air Force.

Sec 302. The authorized commissioned . . . of female persons in the Regular Air Force shall . . . not exceed 2 per centum of such authorized strength, . . . that for a period of two years immediately following the date of this act, the actual number of women in the Regular Air Force shall not exceed three hundred officers

Sec 303. (a) Commissioned female officers of the Regular Air Force shall be appointed by the President . . . from female citizens of the United states who have attained the age of twenty-one years

(c) Female officers shall be permanently commissioned the Regular Air Force in the grades from second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel, inclusive. The authorized number in permanent grade of lieutenant colonel shall . . . not exceed 10 per centum of the total authorized female commissioned strength.

(f) . . . any selection board convened to consider . . . female officers of the Regular Air Force for promotion . . . may contain female officers senior . . . to any female officer being considered . . . for promotion.

(g) . . . there may be one, but not more than one, female Air Force officer on duty serving in the temporary grade of colonel

(h) Female officers of the Regular Air Force shall be eliminated from the active list and retired or separated, as the case may be, under the provisions of law or hereafter applicable to male officers generally of the Air Force promotion list . . . any female officer in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel may . . . be retained on the active list until . . . thirty "years service" is completed . . . female officers in the permanent grade of major shall not be eliminated from the active list by reason of not having been selected for promotion to the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel . . . [until] she completes twenty-five "years service"

Sec 306. Except as otherwise specifically provided, all laws now or hereafter, applicable to male commissioned officers . . . of the Regular Air Force shall in like cases be applicable to female officers . . . of the Regular Air Force The husbands of such female persons shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such female persons shall not be considered dependent unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent upon their mother for their chief support.

Sec 307 (a) The Secretary of the Air Force shall prescribe the military authority which female persons of the Air Force may exercise and the kind of military duty to which

Air Force Officers

they may be assigned: Provided, That they shall not be assigned to duty in aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions.

Sec 308 (a) . . . not later than two years following the date of enactment of this title, the President is authorized to appoint female officers in the Regular Air Force . . . in the grades of second lieutenant, first lieutenant, captain, and major [provided they] . . . have served honorably . . . as commissioned officers . . . at some time between July 1, 1943, and the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) Each woman appointed . . . shall be credited . . . with service equivalent to the total period of active Federal service performed by her after attaining the age of twenty-one years as a commissioned officer in the armed forces . . . from July 1, 1943, to the date of such appointment, or a period of service equal to the days, months, and years by which her age at the time of such appointment exceeds twenty-five years, whichever period is greater.

(c) For the purpose of determining the grade for each such person appointed, . . . persons with less than three years "enactment service" shall be appointed in the grade of second lieutenant; persons with three or more years . . . , but less than seven years . . . shall be appointed in the grade of first lieutenant; persons with more than seven years . . . , but less than fourteen years . . . shall be appointed in the grade of captain; and persons with fourteen or more years . . . , but less than twenty-one years . . . shall be appointed in the grade of major.

Sec 310 (a) . . . the appointment . . . of women in the officers . . . section of the Air Force Reserve shall be authorized.

(b) Except as otherwise specifically provided, all laws not applicable to male commissioned officers . . . shall be applicable to . . . female commissioned officers . . . of the Air Force Reserve

Approved June 12, 1948.

Appendix 7

Air Force Women Officers 1948-1973

Air Force Women Officers 1948-1973

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of Total Officers</u>
1948	158*	0.3
1949	262*	0.4
1950	310	0.6
1951	487	0.4
1952	951	0.7
1953	1,023	0.8
1954	771	0.6
1955	704	0.5
1956	628	0.5
1957	635	0.5
1958	677	0.5
1959	738	0.6
1960	677	0.5
1961	657	0.5
1962	664	0.5
1963	710	0.5
1964	722	0.6
1965	709	0.5
1966	696	0.5
1967	762	0.6
1968	893	0.6
1969	1,016	0.8
1970	1,072	0.8
1971	1,157	0.9
1972	1,201	1.0
1973	1,262	1.1

*Includes some WAC officers.

Appendix 8

Blacks in the Air Force 1948–1973

Blacks in the Air Force **1948-1973**

Year	Total Blacks	Percent of Total Force	Black Officers	Percent of Total Officers
1947	21,243	6.9	247	0.4
1948	25,855	6.6	308	0.5
1949	22,092	5.2	319	0.5
1950	26,604	6.4	411	0.6
1951	39,114	4.9	731	0.6
1952	61,124	6.2	1,036	0.7
1953	70,958	7.2	1,262	1.0
1954	72,199	7.7	1,394	1.0
1962	47,884	8.2	1,320	1.2
1964	71,769	8.6	2,050	1.5
1965	74,958	9.2	2,096	1.6
1966	81,766	9.1	2,284	1.7
1967	80,414	9.1	2,417	1.8
1969	78,859	9.2	2,377	1.8
1970	76,216	9.5	2,267	1.7
1971	76,961	10.2	2,216	1.7

Notes

Chapter One

1. *AAF Statistical Digest, World War II*, Ofc of Statistical Control, Dec 1945, p 16, table 4, and p 135, table 83; *AAF Statistical Digest, 1946*, table 8, p 14. Statistics relative to the AAF and, later, the AF vary from source to source. For consistency, the various volumes of the statistical digest cited above will be used as the data base throughout this book. Other sources credit the Air Corps in 1939 with only about 18,000 pers. See Stephen E. Ambrose and James A. Baker, ed, *Military and American Society: Essays and Readings* (New York: The Free Press, 1972), p 1.

2. Testimony by the Dep CG/AAF (Eaker) before the Woodrum cmte, Oct 1945, Woodrum testimony file, RG 18, MMB, NA; AAF CG's Conference, Maxwell Fld, Feb 19-20, 1944, p 7, AF/HSOR 132.14-6. By 1945, only 30.5 percent of all Army and Navy enlisted men were performing traditional military duties while 33 percent were in "white collar" jobs. During the Civil War, the traditional duties occupied over 90 percent of the Union Army's enlisted force. See Harold Wool, *The Military Specialist: Skilled Manpower for the Armed Forces* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), table IV-I, p 52. Perhaps the best summary of the changes within the American military establishment in the first half of this century can be found in Walter Millis, *Arms and Men: A Study in American Military History* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956).

3. John F. Shiner, *Foulois and the US Army Air Corps, 1931-1935* (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1983), p 17; staff summ sheet (SSS), Eaker to the DC/AS (Hood), subj: Removal of the Limitation on the Number of Non-Flying Ofc's in the Air Corps, May 29, 1946, Mil Pers file, part 2, Apr 15, 1946, RG 18, MMB, NA;

memo, AC/AS for Pers (AC/AS-1) (Anderson) to Eaker, subj: A Career for Non-Rated Ofc's in the Air Forces Reg Establishment, Nov 15, 1945, AF/HSOR 141.04-10.

4. "The Development and Functions of the OCS and OTS, 1942-1951," USAF hist study no 99, 1953, AF/HSOR 101-99, pp 86, 107, and 139; *AAF Statistical Digest, 1946*, table 12, p 19; Frederick B. Davis, *The AAF Qualifying Examination*, AAF Aviation Psychology Program research rpt no 6 (Washington: GPO, 1947), table 1-1, p 5.

5. Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate, *The AAF in World War II, Vol 6: Men and Planes* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1955), p 175; Herman S. Wolk, *Planning and Organizing the Postwar Air Force, 1943-1947* (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1984), pp 140-41.

6. Memo, CG/AAF (Arnold) to the Dir of the AAF Scientific Advisory Group (Von Karman), subj: AAF Long Range Development Program, Nov 7, 1945 in "Toward New Horizons: a Rpt to Gen of the Army H. H. Arnold." Arnold wanted Dr. Von Karman to prepare a study of what development could be expected in aviation and military technology in the postwar period and what the AAF had to do to keep up with those developments. He also voiced his concern about technology in his final report to the Secretary of War on Nov 12, 1945, shortly before his retirement. See Robert F. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, and Doctrine: A History of Basic Thinking in the USAF, 1907-1964* (Maxwell AFB: AU Press, 1971) p 94.

7. (WDSS), Arnold to the C/S (Marshall), subj: Reg Commissions, Sep 17, 1945, decimal file 210, misc, 1945, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA.

8. Message, Arnold to the Exec to

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CG/AAF (Dean), Dec 7, 1944, Mil Pers 2D, Ofcr Assignments, Nov 16, 1944-Dec 31, 1944, part 7, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Dep CG/AAF (Giles) to Marshall, subj: Assignment of Non-Rated Mil Academy Graduates to the AAF, Dec 22, 1944 and R&R sheet, Dean to the Dep, AC/AS-1 (McCormick), subj: West Point Graduates for AAF, Dec 16, 1944, Mil Pers 2D, Ofcr Assignments, Nov 16-Dec 31, 1944, part 7, RG 18, MMB, NA. In Feb 1946, Arnold again tried to get agreement from the Army C/S, Gen Dwight D. Eisenhower, to appoint nonrated West Pointers to the AAF beginning with the class of 1946, but he was turned down because the allocations for that class had already been made. Eisenhower also expressed a mild disagreement with the idea on the traditional grounds that the AAF needed rated graduates far more than nonrated. See memo, Arnold to the C/S (Eisenhower), subj: Appointment of USMA Graduates in Air Corps as Non-rated Ofcrs, Feb 9, 1946 and memo, DCS (Handy) to Arnold, subj: Appointment of US Mil Academy Graduates in the Air Corps as Non-Rated Ofcrs, Feb 26, 1946, 210.1, Pers M-1D Appointments, May 1-Jun 30, 1946, RG 18, MMB, NA and notes on a mtg with the actg CG/AAF (Spaatz) and Eisenhower, Feb 11, 1946, papers of Gen Carl Spaatz, Official Diary Feb 1946, box 25, LOC.

9. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, p 103.

10. Memo, Giles to multiple addressees, subj: Principles of AAF Future Action, Jan 29, 1945, decimal file 210, misc 1945, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, AC/AS-1 (Vandenberg) to Eaker, subj: A Career for Non-rated Ofcrs in the Air Forces Reg Establishment, Nov 15, 1945, tab B-1, AF/HSOR 141.04-10.

11. Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p 21.

12. *AAF Statistical Digest*, 1946, table 8, p 14; memo, McCormick to Giles, subj: Reg Army Air Corps Ofcrs, Feb 9, 1945, 211, Titles and Grades, 1945, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA. The ratio is sus-

pect. If the data in the *AAF Statistical Digest* is used, the ratio comes out to be one Regular officer for every 119 AAF officers.

13. Special projects ofc status rpt on demobilization, AAF, Jan 5, 1945, Demobilization file, 1944, RG 18, MMB, NA.

14. Ibid, pp 9-10. The call for a 1,000,000-man postwar AAF appears nowhere outside of the source cited in this footnote. The call for a 685,000-man force is consistent with other sources.

15. Wolk, *Planning and Organizing the Postwar AF*, pp 61-68 and appendix 4.

16. Memo, Ch Separations Section (Born) to Arnold, subj: AAF Separations Project, Oct 10, 1945, 210, misc, 1945, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA; *Army Times*, Sep 1, 1945, p 1; *AAF Statistical Digest*, World War II, table 4, p 16. The Army promised to demobilize over six million men by Jul 1, 1946. See *Army Times*, Sep 1, 1945, p 1. Also first mtg of the Air Board, 16-18 Apr 1946, p 49, Air Board 1946-1948 file, RG 340 (Rcrds of the OSAF), MMB, NA. All subsequent references to Air Board meetings will be from the location cited in this footnote.

17. SSS, Arnold to Marshall, subj: Reg Commissions, Sep 17, 1945, 210, misc, 1945, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA.

18. Wolk, *Planning and Organizing the Postwar AF*, pp 72-73.

19. War Dept Circular 392, subj: Appointment of Ofcrs to the Reg Army, Dec 29, 1945, and PL 281 (extract), 210.1, Mil Pers Appointments, Jan 1-Mar 31, 1946, part 1, RG 18, MMB, NA; US Code Congressional Service, *Laws of the 79th Cong, 1st Sess*, (Brooklyn: Edward Thompson Co., 1946), pp 640-42; ltr, Anderson to the Dep CG/Army Strategic Air Forces (Giles), Sep 18, 1945, 210, misc, 1945, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA.

20. War Dept circular 392, subj: Appointment of Ofcrs to the Reg Army, Dec 29, 1945, 210.1, Mil Pers Appointments, Jan 1-Mar 31, 1946, part 1, RG 18, MMB, NA. The provision applied to permanent ranks and not to the grossly

inflated temporary ranks that had been awarded during the war. All were scheduled to revert to their permanent ranks at some point and be promoted thereafter on a seniority basis and not by their age. This receives fuller treatment in the next chapter.

21. Ltr, Eaker to Marshall, subj: Integration of Selected Ofcra into the Reg Army, Oct 13, 1945, papers of Gen of the Army Henry H. Arnold, box 64, 210.1, LOC; memo, Anderson to Eaker, subj: Eligibility of Reg Ofcra for Appointment under PL 281, Feb 11, 1946, 210, Mil

Pers Appointments, Jan 1-Mar 31, 1946, part 1, RG 18, MMB, NA.

22. First mtg of the Air Board, p 62.

23. Draft ltr, unknown ofc to War Dept Pers Branch, subj: Reg Ofcra in the Postwar Mil Establishment, Mar 5, 1945, Titles and Grades, vol 2, 1945, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Anderson to CG Air Tech Service Command (Twining), Jan 31, 1946 and ltr, Twining to Anderson, subj: Non-Rated Ofcra for Postwar AF, Jan 14, 1946, 210.1, Mil Pers Appointments, Jan 1-Mar 31, 1946, part 1, RG 18, MMB, NA.

Chapter Two

1. Memo, Anderson to Eaker, subj: Special Qualifications for Tech Specialists, Nov 1, 1945, 210, misc, 1945, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Vandenberg to Eaker, subj: A Career for Non-Rated Ofcra in the Air Forces Reg Establishment, Nov 15, 1945, AF/HSOR 141.04-10. Tab E has a by-name listing of the units nonrated officers could potentially command.

2. Anderson memo to Eaker, Nov 1, 1945.

3. Alfred Goldberg, *A History of the United States Air Force, 1907-1957* (Princeton: Von Nostrand Co., 1957), p 101.

4. The Air Board consisted of the CG, Dep CG, the Secretary-General, the commanders of all major AAF commands, and such retired officers, civilians, Air National Guard, and Air Reserve ofcra as the AAF CG might care to appoint. Some meetings were attended by the Secretary of War for Air and the future SECAF, Mr. Stuart Symington. See Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts and Doctrine*, p 106.

5. Murray Green, "Maj Gen Hugh J. Knerr, Hard Campaigner for Air Power," *Air Force Magazine*, Oct 1978, pp 90-92.

6. First mtg of the Air Board, p 112; memo, Sec of the Air Board (Knerr) to Spaatz, subj: Command Career, Feb 26, 1946, first interim rpt of the Air Board,

Air Board interim rpts, 1946-1948, RG 340, MMB, NA, pp 31-33 and 35. Actually, a similar statement had been issued in Aug 1945, so the Spaatz letter constituted a reissue. See AAF ltr 35-274, subj: The Future of Ofcra in the Post War AF, Air Reserve and NG, Aug 29, 1946, 210.1, Mil Pers Appointments, Apr 1-Apr 30, 1946, part 2, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, subj: Post-War Opportunities for AAF Ofcra, Aug 1945, box 4, 9.81 folder, papers of Gen Carl Spaatz, LOC.

7. Memo, Knerr to Spaatz, subj: Integration, Mar 11, 1946, papers of Maj Gen Hugh J. Knerr, box 7, Air Board file, LOC; first interim rpt of the Air Board, pp 28-29.

8. First mtg of the Air Board, pp 107-8.

9. Second mtg of the Air Board, p 201.

10. Shiner, *Foulois and the U.S. Army Air Corps*, pp 247-48; memo, Spaatz to Eisenhower, subj: Requirements for Gen Ofcra in the Air Forces, Jan 29, 1946, Jan 1946 file, RG 18, MMB, NA. Spaatz was annoyed that the AAF had 28 percent of the strength of the Army at the end of the war, but only 20 percent of the general officers. Also see a speech by Maj Gen Fred Anderson to the AWC, subj: AF Pers Problems and Policies, Oct 7, 1946, p 8, AF/HSOR K239.716246-2 (R) and rpt, ACS/Pers to the CG/AAF, May 1, 1945-Jun 30, 1946, 391.1, May 1945-

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Jun 1946, RG 341 (Rcrds of the USAF), MMB, NA.

11. Memo, Vandenberg to Eaker, subj: A Career for Non-Rated Ofcrs in the Air Forces Reg Establishment, tab B, Nov 15, 1945, AF/HSOR 141.04-10; second mtg of the Air Board, pp 215-17.

12. Sixth mtg of the Air Board, pp 116-23. In 1947, the Army took steps to reduce the power of the corps, including commissioning officers into the Army and not into the individual corps.

13. Second mtg of the Air Board, pp 284-98 and pp 370-79; HQ/AAF disposition form, Anderson to Eaker, subj: Post War Reg Army Ofcr Promotion Plan, Jul 26, 1946, 210.2, Mil Pers 15-2, Mar 16, 1946, part 2, RG 18, MMB, NA; sixth mtg of the Air Board, pp 125 and 128-29. Most of the discussion at the second Air Board meeting was taken up with debating the exact wording of the policy. There was no substantial disagreement with the policy itself.

14. First mtg of the Air Board, p 55; second mtg of the Air Board, pp 199-200; speech, Lt Gen Idwal Edwards, DCS/Pers and Administration, to the AWC, subj: AF Pers Problems and Policies, Oct 14, 1947, p 13, AUL M-38043-NC, E26a.

15. Second mtg of the Air Board, pp 199, 208, and 219; sixth mtg of the Air Board, pp 115-17; memo, Anderson to the Air Board, subj: Integration of Arms and Services Functions, May 15, 1946, Mil Pers file, Apr 15-Jun 15, 1946, part 2, RG 18, MMB, NA.

16. Sixth mtg of the Air Board, p 124.

17. Study, "Ofcrs' Attitudes Toward their Careers, Army and AF," Dept of the Army, Ofc of the C/S, Army-AF Troop Information and Education Div, rpt no 92-319, Apr 1949, pp 8, 25, and 27-28, AF/HSOR 160.7042-92. For less emotional statements of the problem, see R&R sheet, Anderson to the Policy Planning Div (AC/AS-1), subj: Career Development Plans for Reg Army and Extended Active Duty Ofcrs, Aug 21, 1946, AF/HSOR 141.04-12 and speech, Edwards to the Air War College, pp

11-12, AUL M-38043-NC, E26a.

18. "Ofcrs' Attitudes Toward their Careers," p 24.

19. Sixth mtg of the Air Board, pp 121-23; memo, Anderson to Eaker, subj: A Career for Non-Rated Ofcrs in the Air Forces Reg Establishment, Nov 15, 1945, tab C-3 and tab C-5 (1), AF/HSOR 141-04-10. A three-year tour would be the norm, but could, if necessary, vary from two to four years. A minimum of sixty days notification of transfer would be given except in unusual circumstances.

20. Sixth mtg of the Air Board, pp 121-23.

21. Speech, Edwards to the Air War College (AWC), Oct 14, 1947, p 14, AUL M38045-NC, E26a.

22. Memo, Anderson to Hood, subj: Use of Ofcrs in the Peacetime Army, Mar 20, 1946, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA; first mtg of the Air Board, p 54; rpt, AC/AS, Pers, to CG/AAF, Sep 3, 1946, 391.1, RG 341, MMB, NA.

23. Memo, Anderson to Eaker, subj: Special Qualifications for Tech Specialists, Nov 1, 1945, 210, misc, 1945, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA; *AF Statistical Digest*, 1947, table 19, p 27.

24. Memo, Anderson to Eaker, subj: Special Qualifications for Tech Specialists, Nov 1, 1945, 210, misc, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Exec, AC/AS-1 (Waylon) to the Army Adjutant Gen (Witsell), untitled, Dec 6, 1946, Mil Pers-2, Performance, Aug 1946, RG 18, MMB, NA. Also see the attached MFR.

25. *AAF Statistical Digest*, 1946, table 9, p 15; "Legislative Hist of the AAF and USAF, 1941-1951," USAF hist study no 84, Sep 1955, pp 47-48, AF/HSOR 101-84; ltr, Ch Reserve and NG Div to Col John B. Horton, Apr 6, 1946, Mil Pers, Jan 1, 1946, part 1, RG 18, MMB NA; ltr, Hood to Mrs. Joseph Attridge, Jul 20, 1946, Air Adjutant Gen (AAG) file, Jan-Dec, 1946, RG 18, MMB, NA; R&R sheet, Exec AC/AS-1 (Wayland) to Legislative and Liaison Div, WDSS, subj: Promotion of Former Prisoners of War, Nov 19, 1945, 210, Promotions, RG 18,

MMB, NA. For background information on the establishment of the Flight Officer category, see the documentation contained in AF/HSOR 168.114-10.

26. Harry O. Mamaux III, "The Enlisted Pilot Program in the USAAF, 1941-1942: Was it Successful?," Air Command and Staff College rpt no 84-1655, AU, Maxwell AFB, 1984, pp 3-4. Another source indicates that only 56 enlisted pilots were trained between 1912 and 1933. See speech by CMSAF Kisling to the Senior Non-Commissioned Ofcrs Academy, 1980, author's AAG 1946 file. For the official view of the enlisted pilot program just before World War II, see memo, subj: Enlisted Pilots, Feb 15, 1940, AF/HSOR 168.6005-6.

27. First mtg of the Air Board, p 141; Mamaux, "The Enlisted Pilot Program in the USAAF," pp 6-7; J. H. MacWilliams, "Enlisted Pilots—A Forgotten Legacy," part 6, *Sergeants*, Feb 1984, pp 15-16; Craven and Cate, *Men and Planes*, pp 435-37.

28. First mtg of the Air Board, pp 137-42.

29. MacWilliams, "Enlisted Pilots," part 6, pp 17-18; Kisling speech, pp 20-21. The history of the AAF's enlisted pilots is currently being researched and written by Mr. MacWilliams and Mr. Lee Arbon, both of whom earned their wings in the program. The requirement that 20 percent of the pilots in a tactical unit be enlisted stayed on the books until 1949, when it was dropped at the urging of the AF. See memo, D/PDP (Nugent) to DCS/P (Edwards), subj: Legislative Status Rpt, May 29, 1949, DCS/P 032 (1949), RG 341, MMB, NA.

30. Memo, Waylon to Spaatz, subj: Daily Activity Rpt, Dec 31, 1946, Daily activity rpt file, RG 18, MMB, NA; telephone intvw by the author of Mr. J. H. MacWilliams, Jul 17, 1984. MacWilliams also noted that at least four of the enlisted pilots became general officers.

31. *Army Times*, Aug 18, 1945, p 3; AAF ltr 35-374, subj: The Future of Ofcrs in the Postwar AF, Air Reserve, and NG, Aug 29, 1945, 210.1-46, Mil

Pers 1-d, Appointments, Apr 1-30, 1946, part 2, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Eaker to the Attorney Gen of the US (Clark), Sep 18, 1946, C file, RG 18, MMB, NA.

32. Ltr, Dep AC/AS-1 (Hall) to CG/ATSC (Twining), Jan 31, 1946, 210.14, Mil Pers, Appointments, Jan 1-Mar 31, 1946, part 1, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Anderson to Spaatz, subj: Manning the 25,000 Reg AF Ofcr Structure, tab A, Dec 6, 1946, AF/HSOR 141.04-13.

33. Ltr, Anderson to multiple addressees, Feb 14, 1946, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 2, RG 18, MMB, NA.

34. Memo, Spaatz to Anderson, subj: Recommendations for Reg Commissions, Mar 1, 1946, AC/AS-1 file, May 1945-May 1946, RG 18, MMB, NA. The non-rated officer was Col James B. Gordon. He was tendered a Regular commission under PL 281. He retired in 1955. See *AF Register*, 1955, p 114.

35. Second mtg of the Air Board, pp 224-25; fourth mtg of the Air Board, p 76; speech by Edwards to the AWC, Oct 14, 1947, p 2.

36. Second mtg of the Air Board, pp 225-27; AAF Selection Branch portion of the rpt of the ACS/Pers to the CG/AAF, Sep 3, 1946, 391.1, May 1, 1945-Jun 30, 1946, RG 341, MMB, NA.

37. Memo, Spaatz to Eisenhower, subj: Selection and Integration of Reg Army Ofcrs, Jun 7, 1946, Spaatz papers, box 27, Jun 1946 folder, LOC.

38. Fourth mtg of the Air Board, p 77; memo, Anderson to Eaker, subj: Manning of the 25,000 Reg AF Ofcr Structure, tab I, Dec 6, 1946, AF/HSOR 141.02-13.

39. Ltr, Anderson to the Adjutant Gen (Witsell), Aug 30, 1946, tab D, 210, Commissioned and Warrant Ofcrs, misc, vol 1, 1946-1947; fourth mtg of the Air Board, p 76.

40. Memo, Spaatz to Eisenhower, subj: Comments on Reg Army Integration Program, Jun 27, 1946, War Dept Gen Staff file, RG 18, MMB, NA. Also see the rpt of the AC/AS, Pers to the CG/AAF, Sep 3, 1946, p 4, 391.1, RG 341, MMB, NA.

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41. Ltr, Witsell to multiple addressees, subj: Tech Specialties to be Appointed in Second Reg Army Integration Program, Aug 1, 1946, 210, Commissioned and Warrant Ofc's, misc, vol 1, 1946-1947, RG 18, MMB, NA. Gen Witsell references an earlier piece of correspondence, dated Jul 26, that was not found in the AAF files.

42. US Code Congressional Service, *Laws of the 79th Cong, 2d Sess* (St Paul: West Publishing Co., 1946), pp 892-93.

43. Study, "AF Proportion of 50,000 Ofc's," undated, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA; rpt of the DCS/Pers to CG/AAF, May 1-Jun 30, 1946, Sep 3, 1946, 391.1, RG 341, MMB, NA; first mtg of the Air Board, p 55; Army disposition form, Ch/Mil Pers Services Group (Swift) to Anderson, May 21, 1946, Mil Pers-D file, Apr 15, 1946, part 2, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Spaatz to ALMAJCOM, subj: AF Attitudes Toward Ofc's of Other Branches of the Service Serving in the Air Forces, Jan 2, 1947, Career Opportunities, Air Board 1945-48 file, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Eaker to the Ops and Training Div, War Dept Gen Staff, subj: Proposed Allocation of 50,000 Army Ofc's to the Arms, Services, and Promotion Lists, Jan 29, 1947, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-47, vol 2, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Actg DCS (Collins) to multiple staff agencies, subj: Basic Agreements on Separation of Air and Army Pers, Aug 21, 1947, Ofc of the C/S, numeric corr file 1947 (54,901-55,000), RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, subj: Interpretation of Agreements Between Gen Spaatz and Gen Eisenhower, undated and memo, Asst DCS (McKee) to Dep CG/AAF (Vandenberg), subj: Conference with Gen Eisenhower on Transfer of Functions and Pers, Sep 3, 1947, Ofc of the C/S numeric corr file 1947 (55,401-55,500), RG 341, MMB, NA.

44. Memo, Anderson to Symington, subj: Need for Additional Recognition of Non-Rated Ofc's in the AAF, May 31, 1946, 211, Mil Pers, Apr 15, part 2, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, the Air Inspector (Jones) to Eaker, subj: Percentage of

Rated and Non-Rated Ofc's Pers in the AAF, Apr 1, 1947, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 2, RG 18, MMB, NA; fifth mtg of the Air Board, p 185.

45. Study, "Proportion of Rated to Non-Rated Ofc's in the Interim and Post-War Air Forces," undated, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA. The content of the study suggests it was written in mid-1946. Also fifth mtg of the Air Board, pp 187-88; memo, Anderson to the WDGS/G-1, subj: Recommendation of Percentage by Grade to be Commissioned in Air Corps Reg Army under PL 281, May 14, 1946, 210, Commissioned and Warrant Ofc's, misc, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Exec AC/AS-1 (Waylon) to the CG/AAF Training Command, subj: Utilization of Ofc's Pers, Feb 12, 1946, Mil Pers Assignments, D, Feb 1-15, 1946, part II, RG 18, MMB, NA.

46. Fifth mtg of the Air Board, pp 187-88.

47. Curtis E. LeMay and MacKinlay Kantor, *Mission with LeMay: My Story* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), pp 73-74, 88, and 113-14; intvw, Lt Gen Lewis L. Mundell, Oct 30-Nov 1, 1979, p 181, AF/HSOR 815-235.

48. Memo, Dep AC/AS-1 (Johnson) to multiple addressees, subj: AAF Special Cmte, Aug 26, 1946 and Special Cmte Rpt on AAF Ofc Structure (Lyon board), undated, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA.

49. Memo, Ch/Flying Safety (Price) to Hood, subj: Ofc of Flying Safety in Post-War Period, May 14, 1945, and study, Magnitude of the AAF Accident Toll, Apr 26, 1945, 210, misc, 1945, vol 3, RG 18, MMB, NA; *AAF Statistical Digest, World War II*, table 34, p 49. Another 6,442 officers were wounded and 26,952 were listed as missing, captured, or interned. Also see ltr, SECAF (Symington) to the Hon William W. Blackney, Apr 15, 1948, gen corr file 1947-48, Subcmte on Pay folder, RG 340, WNRC. The infantry suffered the largest casualty ratio during the war, 582 casualties per 1,000 individuals. The combat crews of the AAF were

close behind with 475 per 1,000 during the same period. The casualty ratio between officers and enlisted men in the AAF was approximately 1:1.41. See staff study, "The Allocation of Ofcra of the Reg Army to Branches," prepared by AC/AS-3 (Organization and Training), undated, and chart, Percentage of Rated Ofcra for Each Years of Service Group Necessary to Maintain the Overall 70-30 Ratio, undated, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA.

50. Memo, Jones to Eaker, subj: Percentage of Rated and Non-Rated Ofcra Pers in the AAF, Apr 1, 1947, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 2, RG 18, MMB, NA. Gen Jones did not define what constituted a substandard officer, but the lack of higher education among the majority of younger officers receiving a Regular commission was a point of increasing concern during the period.

51. Ltr, Spaatz to Senator Joseph H. Ball, Apr 1, 1947, B file, 1946, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Spaatz to Lt Gen George Brett, Jun 30, 1947, B (Gen) file, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Spaatz to Representative Chet Holifield, Jul 1, 1947, Mil Pers 2D file, Oct 1-Oct 31, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA. Spaatz wrote many letters on the subject of flight pay. The ones cited are representative.

52. Ltr, Spaatz to multiple addressees, subj: Flying Pay, May 27, 1946, SAC folder, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, PAC AC/AS-3 (McNaughton) to Dep AC/AS-1 (Power), Dec 5, 1946 and ltr, Power to McNaughton, Jan 8, 1947, Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA.

53. *AAF Statistical Digest, World War II*, table 83, p 135 and table 6, p 18; memo, Spaatz to Symington, subj: Atlantic Monthly Article, Oct 14, 1947, OSAF, numeric corr file 57401-57500, 1947, RG 341, MMB, NA. It is extremely difficult to quote with certainty the number of rated officers in the 1946-47 time period. The *AF Statistical Digest, 1947* lists 12,353 pilots in Mar 1947, yet the Air Inspector mentions 23,000 pilots on duty in the continental US alone. The same

volume of the statistical digest lists 14,605 total rated officers on active duty in Dec 1947, but the next issue of the statistical digest (1948) shows 28,888 on duty a month later and with virtually no increase in the total number of officers. Also, rated percentages mentioned before the Air Board support the higher (1948) figure. The disparity was probably the result of a change in the method of counting rated officers beginning in 1948. Until 1948, rated officers in nonrated billets were probably not counted in the rated figures. The figure of 25,000 rated officers is a best estimate. See *AF Statistical Digest, 1947*, table 19, p 27; *AF Statistical Digest, 1948*, table 48, p 42; fifth mtg of the Air Board, p 186; memo, Jones to Eaker, subj: Percentage of Rated and Non-Rated Ofcra Pers in the AAF, Apr 1, 1947, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 2, RG 18, MMB, NA.

54. Fifth mtg of the Air Board, p 136; Robert J. Donovan, *Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S Truman, 1945-1948* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977), p 261. Truman hoped to further reduce the defense budget to \$6-7 billion "in a few years."

55. Fifth mtg of the Air Board, pp 183 and 187.

56. *Ibid*, pp 181-89. In citing 52 percent of the wartime AAF being rated, Gen Weyland was apparently using Jun 1944 for his figures. The percentage of rated officers peaked at 59.2 percent in Apr 1945 before settling back to about 57 percent at the end of the war. See *AAF Statistical Digest, 1946*, table 11, p 19.

57. Rpt to the Weyland cmte, "Analysis of the Factors Affecting the Rated to Non-Rated Ofcra Ratio in the AF," Jul 25, 1947, DCS/Pers Planning Exec Ofc decimal file 334.22, Weyland cmte, Dec 31, 1953, book 1, RG 341, MMB, NA, pp 1 and 2. In 1947, a "combat age" officer was certainly less than 35 years old and probably less than 30. Officers over 35 were considered "older" and would be placed in staff and command positions in case of war. The extreme youth of the AAF officer corps, mentioned earlier in

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this chapter, allowed the adoption of such an age criterion. See Ltr, Spaatz to Representative Chet Holifield, Jul 1, 1947, Mil Pers 2D file, Oct 1-31, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA.

58. Rpt to the Weyland cmte, pp 2 and 13.

59. Ibid, p 3.

60. Ltr, Dep AC/AS-1 (Johnson) to CG/ADC (Stratemeyer), subj: Weather Ofcr Procurement, Jan 2, 1947 and AAF News Release, subj: Qualified Former Ofcrs may Attend Weather Ofcr Training Courses at Civilian Schools, undated, Mil Pers D file, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1945, RG 18, MMB, NA.

61. Ltr, Spaatz to multiple addressees, Sep 11, 1947, Mil Pers D file, Jul 1-Sep 30, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA; "The Pre-flight Schools of World War II," USAF

hist study no 90, 1953, AF/HSOR 101-90, pp 156, 160, and 167.

62. Donovan, *Conflict and Crisis*, pp 136-37 and 200. Two public opinion polls taken in 1947 showed that 65-70 percent of those questioned were in favor of one year of military training for "able-bodied young men." See *The Gallup Poll, Public Opinion 1935-1971*, vol 1 (New York: Random House, 1972), p 501, survey 344-K, question 3a and p 700, survey 409-K, question 3g.

63. Sixth mtg of the Air Board, p 136; *AF Statistical Digest*, 1947, table 8, p 16; Steven L. Rearden, *Hist of the Ofc of the SECDEF, Vol 1, The Formative Years, 1947-1950*, (Washington: Hist Ofc, OSD, 1984), p 12. Estimates of the number of groups actually manned by the AAF in 1947 will vary from source to source.

Chapter Three

1. Memo, SECAF (Symington) to the Sec Army (Royall), subj: Transfer Order No 1, Oct 2, 1947, Gen Corr, 1947-1948, decimal file 040, SECDEF Forrestal, RG 340, MMB, NA; list of transfer orders, undated, box 11, special file no 7, RG 340, MMB, NA; *Air Force Times*, Feb 14, 1948, p 1.

2. Ltr, Dep AC/AS-1 (Upton) to ALMAJCOM, Sep 15, 1947, Mil Pers-15 file, promotion-demotion range, RG 18, MMB, NA.

3. US Cong, Senate Cmte on Armed Services, *Ofcr Pers Act of 1947 (H.R. 3830)*, 80th Cong, 1st Sess, p 1; Shiner, *Foulois and the US Army Air Corps*, pp 248-49; Mark S. Watson, *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations, The US Army in World War II* (Washington: Hist Div, US Army, 1950), p 247.

4. Intvw, Gen Horace Wade, Oct 10-12, 1978, p 441, AF/HSOR K239.0512-1105; intvw, Maj Gen William O. Ryan, Dec 15-17, 1977, pp 73-75, AF/HSOR K239.0512-980; intvw, Gen Edwin W. Rawlings, Jul 18-19, 1979, p 81, AF/HSOR K239.0512-1134; Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, p 180.

5. US Cong, House Cmte on Armed Services, *To Provide for the Procurement, Promotion and Elimination of Reg Army Ofcrs (H.R. 2536)*, 80th Cong, 1st Sess, pp 2708-9; US Cong, Senate, Cmte on Armed Services, *Ofcr Pers Act of 1947 (H.R. 3830)*, 80th Cong, 1st Sess, pp 1 and 10; Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall: Ordeal and Hope, 1939-1942* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), pp 91-95 and 97-99; PL 190, 77th Cong, 1st Sess, copy found in the papers of Lt Gen Ira C. Eaker, box 9, misc corr file, Apr-Jul 10, 1945, LOC; Watson, *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations*, pp 245-55; study, "Pers Problems Relating to AAF Commissioned Ofcrs, 1939-1945," AF hist study no 11, AU hist div, 1951, pp 20-25 and 135-40. At least two AAF gen ofers may have been reduced in rank during 1941 as a part of the Marshall reforms, but the evidence is not sufficient to make that statement without qualification. See memo, Eaker to Symington, Nov 27, 1946, 211, Titles and Grades, 1946-1947, vol 1, RG 18, MMB, NA.

6. US Cong, Senate, Cmte on Armed Services, *Ofcr Pers Act of 1947 (H.R.*

3830), 80th Cong, 1st Sess, p 2.

7. Memo, Upston to Spaatz, subj: Perm Gen Ofcfrs, Aug 6, 1947, Spaatz papers, box 251, Gen Corr, Jul 29-Aug 30, 1947, LOC; ltr, Upston to ALMAJ-COM, Sep 15, 1947, Mil Pers 15 file, Promotion-Demotion Range, RG 18, MMB, NA; seventh mtg of the Air Board, pp 15-16.

8. US Cong, Senate, Cmte on Armed Services, *The Army and AF Vitalization and Retirement Equalization Act of 1948 (H.R. 744)*, 80th Cong, 2d Sess, title 1, section 102.

9. Ltr, Vice C/S (AF/CV) (Fairchild) to pers concerned, subj: Ltr of Instructions to AF Selection Board (P.L. 810 #4), Oct 3, 1949, DCS/P Exec Ofc decimal file 210.002, gen ofcfrs, Dec 31, 1949, book 1C, RG 341, MMB, NA. The criteria listed have been paraphrased in the interest of brevity and clarity.

10. 1956 promotion briefing (draft), ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 2-1 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Asst DCS/P (Mills) to the SECDEF for Manpower, Pers, and Reserves, subj: Briefing for the Staff of the Senate Armed Services Cmte, Oct 24, 1955, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; "A Presentation of USAF Ofcfr Promotion Factors," undated, chart 1, ACC 61A-1131, box 1, Mil 2 folder (1956), RG 341, WNRC; memo, Spaatz to Symington, subj: Utilization of Senior Flying Ofcfrs, Oct 8, 1947, tab A, Mil Pers 2 file, Oct 1-31, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA.

11. OPA of 1947, sections 509 (I), 509 (m), and 518; memo, Dir of the War Dept Gen Staff, Pers and Administration Div (Paul) to multiple addressees, subj: Perm Promotion Plan for the Reg Army, Oct 31, 1936, pp 7-8, 210, Commissioned and Warrant Ofcfrs, misc file, vol I (1946-47), RG 18, MMB, NA.

12. Speech, Edwards to the AWC, subj: AF Pers Problems and Policies, Oct 14, 1947, p 6; briefing, subj: A Presentation of USAF Ofcfr Promotion Factors, p 5, undated, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 2 (1956) folder, RG 341, MMB, NA;

memo, Mills to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower, Pers, and Reserves, subj: Briefing for Staff of Senate Armed Services Cmte, Oct, 24, 1955, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 1 file, RG 341, WNRC. All the sources list Gen Fairchild as the chairman of the cmte considering promotion criteria through the rank of lt col. However, the ltr of instructions to cmte members lists Lt Gen Hubert R. Harmon, senior AF member of the Mil and Naval Staff Cmte to the United Nations, as chairman. See ltr, Vandenberg to pers concerned, subj: Ltr of Instructions to Ad Hoc Cmte (PL 381 #2), Mar 10, 1948, Dir of Pers Planning Policy Div, Promotion Branch, subject decimal folder 1947-1955, Mil 1-2-3 (Lt Col) file, RG 341, MMB, NA and "Biographical Study of USAF Gen Ofcfrs, 1917-1952," AF hist study no 91 (Maxwell AFB: AU, 1955), vol II, entry for Lt Gen Hubert Harmon.

13. Speech, Edwards to the AWC, subj: AF Pers Problems and Policies, Oct 14, 1947, pp 6-7; 1956 promotion briefing, p 12, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 1 folder RG 341, WNRC.

14. OPA of 1947, sections 509(I), 509(M), 510(B), and 518; memo, Paul to multiple addressees, subj: Perm Promotion Plan for Reg Army Ofcfrs, Oct 31, 1946, 210, Commissioned and Warrant Ofcfrs, misc file, vol 1 (1946-1947), RG 18, MMB, NA; 1956 promotion briefing, p 12; draft 1956 promotion briefing, p 7.

15. R&R sheet, subj: Formal Education Status of AF Pers, Nov 10, 1947, Mil Pers file 1-1-1, classification, RG 18, MMB, NA; speech, Edwards to the Armed Forces Staff College, Oct 26, 1948.

16. R&R sheet, D/PDP to D/PTR, subj: Educational Requirements for Reg Commissions Under AFR 36-5, Nov 10, 1949, D/PDP 210, Ofcfr Pers Dec 31, 1952, box I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Noel Parrish, "New responsibilities for AF Ofcfrs," *AU Quarterly Review*, Spring 1947, pp 41-42.

17. Hist summ, Jul 1, 1949-Jun 30, 1950, Dir of Training, p 7-8; draft speech, "Future Ofcfrs in the Armed

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Forces," undated, and ltr, Stearns to Vandenberg, Jun 5, 1948, DCS/P 210.2, promotions, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, book IV-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Ralph W. Keller, "The Need for an Air Academy," *AU Quarterly Review*, Summer 1949, p 58.

18. Rpt of the AAF Educational Conference, Maxwell Fld, Aug 20-22, 1946, pp 23-26, files of the AU historian; draft speech, untitled and undated, D/PDP 350.001, speeches, Dec 31, 1948, book I, RG 341, MMB, NA.

19. Speech, Edwards to the West Point Graduating Class of 1949, Jan 10, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to the USAF, Dec 31, 1953, book I, RG 341, MMB, NA; Barbara Ann Wechler, "Hist of AFIT," AU study series (AUOI-H) no 19, Mar 7, 1966, AF/HSOR K239.01; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, vol I, p 250, AF/HSOR K239.01.

20. *AF Times*, May 27, 1950, p 1; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, vol III.

21. James M. Gerhardt, *The Draft and Public Policy: Issues in Military Manpower Procurement, 1945-1970* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), pp 43-44 and 123-26.

22. *AF Statistical Digest*, 1947, table 56, p 84; memo for the SECAF, undated and unsigned, RG 341, D/PDP 353.2, Pilot Training, Dec 31, 1952, book II-S, MMB, NA. The memo was probably written in mid-1948. Also, ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1946, pp 42-44, AF/HSOR 220.01 and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1946, p 77.

23. "Development of AAF and USAF Training Concepts and Programs, 1941-1952," USAF hist study no 93, AU hist div, 1953, pp 393-94, AF/HSOR 101-93; presentation before the bureau of the budget by Maj Gen Robert Nugent, Oct 11, 1949, D/PMP 250.01 (1948-1950), speeches, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1949, RG 341, MMB, NA; ltr, Spaatz to multiple addressees, Sep 11, 1947, Mil Pers file 1D, Jul 1-Sep 30, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA; seventh mtg of the Air Board, p 33; hist, Pers Procurement Div, Dir of Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, part II, p 2, ACC 60A-5075, box 1, part II, p 2, RG 341,

WNRC; hist summ, Dir of Training, Jul 1, 1949-Jun 30, 1950, p 6, ACC 67A-0575, box 1, RG 341, WNRC.

24. Draft of speech, "Future Ofc's in the Armed Services," undated, DCS/P 210.002, Gen Ofc's, Dec 31, 1949, book IC, RG 341, MMB, NA; seventh mtg of the Air Board p 33; memo, Dep D/PDP (Hansen) to Admiral Fechteler, Feb 15, 1949, DCS/P 320.21, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1949, book IIS, RG 341, MMB, NA; *AF Times*, Feb 28, 1948, p 1 and Apr 16, 1949, p 8; "Development of AAF and USAF Training Concepts and Programs, 1941-1952," p 393.

25. Hist, Pers Procurement Div, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, ACC 60A-5075, box 1, part II, p 1, RG 341, WNRC; Development of AAF and USAF Training Concepts and Programs, 1941-1952, pp 391 and 393.

26. R&R sheet, Dep, Training Div, D/PTR (Disosway) to D/PMP (Strothers), subj: Highest Scholastic Qualifications for Aviation Cadets, Apr 7, 1949, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training (D/PTR) decimal file 211, Titles and Grades, Nov 1948-Aug 1949, RG 341, MMB, NA.

27. Memo, Dep, Training Div, Dir of Training and Requirements (Coira) to D/PTR (McNaughton), subj: Action to Improve Quality of Aviation Cadets, Jul 8, 1949, D/PTR 211, Titles and Grades, Nov 1948-Jul 1949, RG 341, MMB, NA; SSS, Actg D/PTR (Wallace) to AF/CC (Fairchild), subj: Increased Production of AF Bombardment School, Jan 22, 1948, AF/CC numeric corr file, 2501-2600 (1948), RG 341, MMB, NA; hist summ, Dir of Procurement and Training, Jul 1, 1949 to Jun 30, 1950, p 5.

28. Hist summ, Dir of Training, Jul 1, 1949-Jun 30, 1950, p 1; hist, Pers Procurement Div, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, part II, pp 2-3; *Second Rpt of the SECDEF and the Annual Rpts of the Sec of the Army, Sec of the Navy, and SECAF for Fiscal Year 1949*, p 277.

29. "The Development and Functions of AAF OCS and OTS, 1942-1951," pp 110-11; rpt on AAF Educational Conference, Maxwell Fld, Aug 20-22, 1946,

files of the AU historian, p 23.

30. Ltr, Exec Asst of the Mil Pers Div (AC/AS-1) to Mr. Robert L. Johnstone, Oct 3, 1947, Mil Pers 1 folder, RG 18, MMB, NA; hist summ, Jul 1, 1949-Jun 30, 1950, Dir of Training, p 7; "The Development and Functions of AAF OCS and OTS, 1942-1951," p 114-115.

31. "Development of AAF and USAF Training Concepts and Programs, 1941-1952," p 463; "The Development and Functions of AAF OCS and OTS, 1942-1951," pp 119-20; ATC hist, Jan 1, 1948-Jun 30, 1949, p 187 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1950, p 298; hist, 3543d AFB Unit Indoctrination Div, ATC, Apr 1-Jun 30, 1948, p 29, AF/HSOR 229.72-11.

32. ATC hist, Jan 1, 1948-Jun 30, 1949, p 183; hist, Indoctrination Div, ATC, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1948, pp 51-52.

33. *AF Times*, Jun 19, 1948, p 1; hist summ, Jul 1, 1949-Jun 30, 1950, Dir of Training, pp 7-8.

34. Transcript of the AF Advisory Cmte on ROTC affairs, Feb 14-15, 1949, pp 35-36, AF/HSOR 132.31-9; G. M. Bacharach, "Army ROTC," *Higher Education*, Apr 15, 1950, p 185, AF/HSOR 132.31-12; memo, D/PDP (Parks) to the Special Asst for Reserve Affairs (McConnell), subj: Maintenance of Modified AF ROTC Program in Time of War, Jul 20, 1949, DCS/P 326.6, 1948-1953, ROTC, Dec 31, 1950, book II-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

35. CONAC hist, Jan-Jun 1950, vol II, p 61, AF/HSOR K419.01; memo, ACS for Plans (Norstad) to the War Dept Exec for Reserve and ROTC Affairs (Smith), subj: Postwar ROTC Planning, Aug 2, 1945, AF/HSOR 132.31-4; memo, Norstad to Smith, subj: Postwar ROTC Planning, Aug 17, 1945, AF/HSOR 145.86-74; memo, Smith to Marshall, subj: Reactivation of Advanced Course, ROTC, Sep 14, 1945, AF/HSOR 132.31-1.

36. AAF plan for the Air ROTC, Aug 22, 1946, pp 4-5, AF/HSOR 132.31-4.

37. Memo, D/PTR to DCS/P (Edwards), subj: A Plan for the Air ROTC, Feb 24, 1948, AF/HSOR 132.31-4; memo, Exec of the Civilian Com-

ponent Group, DCS/O (Jones) to the Requirements Div, D/PTR, subj: Review of AFROTC Ofcr Production Plans, Nov 19, 1948, AF/HSOR 132.31-4.

38. Ltr, ADC Adjutant Gen (Landon) to Spaatz, subj: Requirements for Air ROTC Instructors, Feb 2, 1948, ADC hist, Jul 1947-Nov 1948, documents vol I, p 215, AF/HSOR 410.01; statement by Gen Carl Spaatz to the Finletter Cmte, Nov 1947, ADC hist, Jul 1947-Nov 1948, vol VI, p 8; *AF Times*, Aug 18, 1948, p 3; fourth interim rpt of the Air Board, Dec 3, 1948, p 27, Knerr papers, box 7, Air Board, Dec 4 mtg folder, LOC.

39. Hist, Air ROTC, appendix 38, files of the AFROTC historian; transcript of the AF Advisory Cmte on ROTC Affairs, pp 55-56; draft speech, subj: Future Ofcrs in the Armed Services, DCS/P 210.002, gen ofcrs, Dec 31, 1949, book IC, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Exec, D/PMP (West) to multiple Air Staff addressees, subj: Review of AFROTC Ofcr Production Plans, Jan 19, 1949, D/PTR 326.6, ROTC, Nov 1948-Aug 1949, RG 341, MMB, NA.

40. Transcript of the AF Advisory Cmte on ROTC Affairs, pp 55-59.

41. Fourth interim rpt of the Air Board, p 27; statement by Brig Gen McConnell to the Bureau of the Budget, p 2; CONAC hist, Jan 1950-Jun 1950, vol II, p 69; ADC hist, Jul 1947-Nov 1948, vol VI, p 36.

42. Gerhardt: *The Draft and Public Policy*, p 125; CONAC hist, Jan 1950-Jun 1950, vol II, p 69; transcript of the AF Advisory Cmte on ROTC Affairs, p 64.

43. Memo, Edwards to the Dir of Pers and Administration, Army Gen Staff (Brooks), subj: Method of Selection of West Point Graduates for Assignment to the AF, Apr 11, 1949, DCS/P 351.4, US Mil Academy, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, AC/AS-1 (Anderson) to Spaatz, subj: Assignment of 1947 Graduates of the USMA, undated, Mil Pers file 2D, Jul 1-14, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA; Keller, "The Need for an Air Academy," p 59; draft memo, Symington

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to Forrestal, subj: Assignment of Annapolis (USNA) Graduates to the AF, Feb 11, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to USAF, Dec 31, 1953, book I, RG 341, MMB, NA.

44. Memo, Spaatz to Symington, subj: Procurement of Academy Trained Ofcrs, Oct 8, 1947, Mil Pers file 2, Oct 1-31, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Symington to Forrestal, subj: Procurement of Academy Trained Ofcr, Oct 9, 1947, Mil Pers 2 file, Oct 1-31, 1947, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Symington to Forrestal, subj: Assignment of Annapolis Graduates to USAF, Sep 15, 1948, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to USAF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA; SSS, DCS/P (Nugent) to Symington through Edwards and Vandenberg, subj: Assignment of Annapolis Graduates to the USAF, Oct 28, 1948, DCS/P 210.3, Nov 1948 file, RG 18, MMB, NA. The Navy needed all USNA graduates to satisfy its needs and West Point production fell 120 short of meeting the Army's needs. See memo, Maj Gen D. M. Schlatter, (member of the Service Academy board) to Symington, subj: Allocation of West Point and Annapolis Graduates to the AF, Apr 15, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to USAF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA.

45. Memo, Forrestal to the Secs of the Army, Navy, and AF, untitled, Nov 9, 1948, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to the USAF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA; SSS, Nugent to Vandenberg, subj: Assignment of Annapolis Graduates to the AF, Jan 11, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USNA and ROTC to the USAF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA; draft memo, Symington to Forrestal, subj:

Assignment of Annapolis Graduates to the AF, Feb 11, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to the AF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA.

46. Memo, Schlatter to Symington, subj: Allocation of West Point and Annapolis Graduates to the AF, Apr 15, 1949 and memo, Sec of the Navy (Matthews) to Symington, subj: Allocation of Annapolis Graduates to the AF, both in DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to the USAF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA. Physical exhaustion and mental depression forced Forrestal from office in late Mar 1949. He committed suicide by jumping from the sixteenth floor of the Bethesda Naval Hospital on May 22, 1949. Those interested might refer to Arnold A. Rogow, *James Forrestal: A Study of Personality, Politics, and Policy* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1963).

47. Memo, Matthews to Symington, subj: Allocation of Annapolis Graduates to the AF, Aug 5, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA and ROTC to USAF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA.

48. SSS, Nugent to Symington through Vandenberg, subj: Allocation of Annapolis Graduates to the AF, Aug 9, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA ROTC to USAF, book I, Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Symington to Matthews, subj: Allocation of Annapolis Graduates to the AF, Aug 10, 1949, DCS/P 210.511, Assignments USMA ROTC to the USAF, Dec 31, 1953, book I, RG 341, MMB, NA; Maj William E. Hodges, "A Historical Analysis of the US Naval Academy Graduates in the USAF," (masters thesis, AFIT, 1972), table 1-1, P 7.

Chapter Four

1. Hist summ, Dir of Training, Jul 1, 1949-Jun 30, 1950, p 3, ACC 67A-0575, box 1, RG 341, WNRC; survey, subj: Ofcr Career Programs: Principles, Politics, and

Procedures, Sep 26, 1949, item 8, DCS/P 319.1 (1949) RG 341, MMB, NA.

2. Seventh mtg of the Air Board, p 156.

3. Ibid, pp 158-59.

4. Memo, Edwards to the Asst SECAF for Management (Zuckert), subj: Ofcr and Enlisted Career Programs, Feb 25, 1948, AF/CC numeric corr file 1948, entry 3479, RG 341, MMB, NA. Enclosure two of this memo contains the specifics of the officer assignment procedures. The DCS/P position was that centralized assignment authority was the only way to efficiently manage the force. See speech, Edwards to the AWC, Oct 14, 1947, p 13.

5. Memo, Asst Exec to SECAF (Lindner) to Edwards, Feb 10, 1948, 200.3, RG 18, MMB, NA; memo, Edwards to Zuckert, subj: Ofcr and Enlisted Career Programs, Feb 25, 1948 AF/CC numeric corr file 1948, entry 3479, RG 341, MMB, NA; survey, subj: Ofcr Career Programs: Principles, Policies, and Procedures, Sep 26, 1949, items 1-4 and 16, DCS/P 319.1 (1949), RG 341, MMB, NA.

6. "Biographical Study of USAF Gen Ofcrs," 1917-1952, vol II, entry for Gen George C. Kenney; intvw, Gen George C. Kenney, Aug 10-21, 1974, p 135, AF/HSOR K239.0512-806. Kenney sometimes took a cavalier attitude toward the rules governing the public statements of general officers. He had a habit of speaking his mind, which brought warnings from his superiors, on one occasion an order from Symington to Spaatz to "take action to end once and for all this type of public comment from any source, and any such action as you decide to take will be fully supported by this office." See memo, Symington to Spaatz, Sep 9, 1947, papers of Stuart Symington, box 12, career files 1946-1950 (Spaatz), Harry S. Truman Library. Also, intvw, Stephen F. Leo, Aug 18, 1982, pp 77-78, AF/HSOR K239.0512-1558.

7. "Biographical Study of USAF Gen Ofcrs, 1917-1952," vol III, entry for Maj Gen Clements McMullen; Kenney intvw, pp 94-95.

8. SAC hist, 1947, vol I, p, 42, AF/HSOR 416.01.

9. Ibid, p 40; Harry R. Borowski, A

Hollow Threat: Strategic Air Power and Containment Before Korea (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982), p 57; intvw, Lt Gen C. S. Irvine, Dec 17, 1970, pp 15-16, AF/HSOR K239.0512-734. Gen McMullen's interest in efficiency went all the way down to the working level. He was once observed using a stop watch to time how long it took to offload an airplane and get the cargo into the warehouse. See intvw, Maj Gen William C. Kingsbury, Dec 18, 1970, p 15, AF/HSOR K239.0512-733.

10. SAC hist, 1947, vol I, p 98 and vol III, exhibit 57.

11. Ibid, vol I, p 46 and vol III, p 13, exhibit 57; Borowski, *A Hollow Threat*, p 60; SAC hist, 1948, vol I, pp 51-52.

12. LeMay and Kantor, *Mission With LeMay*, pp 430-33; rpt to Gen Vandenberg by Charles A. Lindbergh, Sep 14, 1948, DCS/O 319.1, Rpts, 1948, Atomic Energy Commission, RG 341, MMB, NA; SAC hist, 1947, vol I, p 47. The SAC histories for 1947 and 1948 are remarkably candid about the ramifications of McMullen's personnel policies, probably because they were written after the general had departed the command.

13. Seventh mtg of the Air Board, pp 162 and 165; SAC hist, 1948, vol I, p 51; Kenney intvw, p 135.

14. Ltr, Spaatz to the CG/SAC (Kenney), May 6, 1947, Spaatz papers, box 251, May 1-Jun 11, 1947 file, LOC. When general officers address each other in such a manner, it is kept within as small a circle as possible. The letter was drafted by Lt Gen Ira C. Eaker, Dep CG/AAF.

15. Thomas M Coffey, *Iron Eagle: The Turbulent Life of Gen Curtis LeMay* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1986), p 274.

16. Rpt, Charles A. Lindbergh to Gen Vandenberg, Sep 14, 1958, pp 1-4.

17. Memo, Exec to the Dir of Plans and Ops, subj: Rpt of Col Charles A. Lindbergh to Gen Vandenberg, Oct 15, 1948, DCS/O 319.1, rpts, 1948, AEC, RG 341, MMB, NA; SAC hist, 1948, vol I, pp 52-53; intvw, Gen Curtis E. LeMay,

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Mar 9, 1971, p 32, AF/HSOR 1001829.

18. Ltr, Chairman of the Scientific Advisory Board (Von Karman) to Vandenberg (Ridenhour rpt), Sep 21, 1949, p 5 and conclusion 1, AF/HSOR 016; AU study, Research and Development in the USAF (Anderson rpt), Nov 18, 1949, vol II, pp 1, 5, 7, and tab A, p 5, AF/HSOR K201-82; rpt, USAF Mil Education board on the professional education system of USAF ofcrs (Fairchild board), Jan 24-25, 1950, p 9, files of the AU historian.

19. *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF and the Semiannual Rpts of the Sec of the Army, Sec of the Navy, and SECAF; Jul 1 to Dec 31, 1949*, p 214; draft memo, DCAS/Research and Development (LeMay) to the Air Staff, untitled and undated, AF/HSOR 168.64; ltr, Dep Ch Engineering Div of the AMC (Putt) to LeMay, Apr 11, 1947, AF/HSOR A1758-0057; ltr, Putt to LeMay, Apr 18, 1947, AF/HSOR A1758-0057.

20. Anderson rpt, tab B, p 2.

21. Ibid, tab B, pp 2-3; Ridenhour rpt, conclusion 3.

22. Daily Staff Digest, Aug 5, 1949, p 3 and Nov 16, 1949, p 1.

23. Speech, D/PDP (Nugent) to the National Convention of the AF Association, Sep 28, 1948, D/PDP 350.001, speeches, Dec 31, 1948, book I, RG 341, MMB, NA; sventh mtg of the Air Board, pp 29-30; SSS, Exec, D/PMP (West) to multiple addressees, subj: Review of AFROTC Production Plan, Jan 19, 1949, D/PTR 326.6, ROTC, Nov 1948-Aug 1949, RG 341, MMB, NA. For example, in 1948, only 74 percent of new officer requirements, rated and nonrated, were filled. See "Legislative Hist of the AAF and USAF, 1941-1951," p 84.

24. Seventh mtg of the Air Board, pp 30-31.

25. Memo, Spaatz to the War Dept Gen Staff Dep for Pers Affairs, subj: Ofcr Volunteer Category Statements, Aug 5, 1947, AF/CC numeric corr entry no 53099 (1947), RG 341, MMB, NA; presentation by Maj Gen Nugent to the Bureau of the Budget, Oct 11, 1949,

D/PDP 350.001, speeches, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1949, RG 341, MMB, NA; speech, Edwards to the AWC, subj: AF Pers Problems and Policies, Oct 14, 1947, AUL M-38043NC, E26a.

26. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), pp 66-67.

27. Speech, AC/AS-1 (Anderson) to the AWC, Oct 7, 1946, AF/HSOR K239.716246-2(R).

28. Gerald T. Cantwell, "From Flying Club to Total Force: The AF Reserve, 1946-1981," unpublished manuscript, Ofc AF Hist, Bolling AFB, DC, chap 5, p 5.

29. *AF Times*, Sep 25, 1948, p 1 and Nov 20, 1948, p 1; *AF Statistical Digest*, 1948, table 36, p 23; *AF Statistical Digest*, Jan 1946-Jun 1950, table 6, p 17; speech, Edwards to the Armed Forces Staff College, Oct 26, 1948, D/PDP 1948, RG 341, MMB, NA; speech, Nugent to the National Convention of the AFA, Sep 24, 1948; memo, Asst D/PMP (West) to Nugent, subj: Hist Data Pertinent to the Establishment of 24,000 Pilot Requirement for 48 Group AF, Mar 2, 1950, DCS/P 320.2, Ofcr Strength (1948-1950), book III, RG 341, MMB, NA; draft speech, subj: Pers Planning Problems, undated, D/PDP 350.001; speeches, Dec 31, 1948, book I, RG 341, MMB, NA. The speech was written sometime in 1948.

30. Reardon, *The Formative Years*, pp 350-51.

31. Hist, Dir of Manpower and Organization, Jul 1, 1949-Jun 30, 1950, AF/HSOR K143.506, pp 3-4.

32. R&R sheet, D/PMP (Strothers) to Edwards, subj: Removal of Ofcrs from Extended Active Duty, Jul 7, 1949, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; *AF Statistical Digest*, 1948, table 48, p 42; *AF Statistical Digest*, Jan 1949-Jun 1950, table 24, p 41.

33. R&R sheet, Strothers to Edwards, subj: Removal of Ofcrs from Extended Active Duty, Jul 7, 1949, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA.

34. DOD Ofc of Public Information press release no 139-49, subj: Def Economics Program Will Require Relief of 3,129 USAF Ofcrs, Aug 24, 1949, DCS/P 320.21, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1949, book II-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; *AF Times*, Aug 27, 1949, p 1.

35. Memo, Nugent to Edwards, subj: Relief of Ofcrs From Extended Active Duty, Aug 30, 1949, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA.

36. Daily Staff Digest, Sep 13, 1949, p 2; ltr, Edwards to multiple addressees, subj: Final Implementation of Recommendations of the Ofcr Selection Board, Nov 21, 1949, DCS/P 210, 1949, RG 341, MMB, NA.

37. Memo, AF/CVC (McKee) to Zuckert, subj: Relief of Additional Pilots From Flying Status Prior to 1 Jan 50, Oct 13, 1949, D/PDP 353.2, Pilot Training, Dec 31, 1952, book II-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

38. Memo: Nugent to the Chairman of the Management Cmte of the OSD, (McNarney), subj: Pilot Reduction Program, USAF, Mar 13, 1950, D/PDP 320.21, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1950, book III-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; *AF Statistical Digest*, Jan 1949-Jun 1950, table 24, p 41.

39. *AF Times*, Nov 17, 1949, p 1, Dec 3, 1949, p 1; paper, Proposed Items for Gen Edwards Visit to Alaska (AAC), undated, D/PDP 333, Inspections and Investigations, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA. The paper was probably written in Feb 1950. Of those officers given the choice between separation and grounding, approximately 75 percent chose the latter option. See Daily Staff Digest, Dec 14, 1949, p 1.

40. *AF Statistical Digest*, Jan 1949-Jun 1950, table 6, p 17 and table 24, p 41; Daily Staff Digest, Jul 24, 1950, p 3; *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1951, table 301, p 414.

Chapter Five

1. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, p 144; Robert J. Donovan, *Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982), pp 160-61.

2. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, p 145.

3. Robert F. Futrell, *The USAF in Korea, 1950-1953* (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1983), pp 12-13, 20, and 26; Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History, 1929-1969* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973), pp 292-93.

4. Charles J. Gross, *Prelude to the Total Force: The Air National Guard, 1943-1969* (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1985), p 62 and appendix 1; Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, p 160; hist, Dir of Pers Planning, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, p 9; hist summ, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, p 3 and tab E, p 8, AF/HSOR 141-24; hist, Dir of Manpower and Organization, Jul-Dec 1950, p 13, AF/HSOR K143.506.

5. Donovan, *Tumultuous Years*, p 305; Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1969), p 470.

6. *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF*, Jan 1 to Jun 30, 1951, p 230; Gross, *Prelude to the Total Force*, p 63; presentation to the House Cmte on Appropriations by Brig Gen Harlan C. Parks, Jul 10, 1951, DCS/P 320.22, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

7. *AF Times*, Aug 5, 1950, p 1; memo, Dir of the SECAF Pers Council (Lyon) to DCS/P (Wetzel), subj: Unqualified Resignation of Reg AF Ofcrs, Jul 3, 1951, Aug 7, 1951, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Actg DCS/P (Wetzel) to Lyon, subj: Unqualified Resignation of Reg AF Ofcrs, Aug 7, 1951, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, D/PDP (Lee) to DCS/P (Kuter),

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subj: Unqualified Resignation of Reg Ofcrs, Aug 15, 1952, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA; ltr, Kuter to D/PMP (McCormick), subj: Tender of Unqualified Resignation, Mar 3, 1952, papers of Gen Laurence S. Kuter, AF/HSOR reel 34168, frame 0015.

8. Daily Staff Digest, Sep 11, 1950, p 1; hist summ, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, pp 5-6; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, vol I, p 167 and vol II, appendices 1 and 2, AF/HSOR K239.01.

9. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, vol III, appendix 10.

10. Ibid, vol II, appendix 8, and vol III, appendix 10.

11. Hist summ, Professional Education Div, Dir of Training, DCS/P, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1951, p 1, AF/HSOR K141.31; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, vol III, appendix 118.

12. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, p 141 and vol II, appendices 25A, 78, and 79.

13. Gerald T. Cantwell, "The Evolution and Employment of the AF Reserve as a Mobilization Force, 1946-1980," HQ AF Reserve monograph, Jul 1981, p 2; ltr, CONAC/CC (Whitehead) to Edwards, subj: Recall of Reserve Ofcr and Airmen Pers, Jul 14, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 30, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; hist summ, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, p 2, AF/HSOR 141.24; *AF Statistical Digest, Jan 1949-Jun 1950*, table 18, p 33 and table 103, p 192.

14. Gross, *Prelude to The Total Force*, p 62; Cantwell, "Evolution of the AF Reserve," p 6; DOD, Ofc of Public Information press release no 822-50, title: USAF Increase in Mil Pers to be on a Voluntary Basis, Jul 7, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, p 160; *AF Statistical Digest, Jan 1949-Jun 1950*, table 100, p 179.

15. Ltr, Whitehead to Edwards, subj: Recall of Reserve Ofcr and Airman Pers, Jul 14, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall,

Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, D/PMP (Hopwood) to the Dir of Requirements and Analysis (Devos), subj: Recall of Commissioned Ofcrs, Jul 7, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Cantwell, "Evolution of the AF Reserve," p 6; DOD Ofc of Public Information press release no 899-50, title: Policy for Recall of Reservists Announced by Def Dept, Jul 19, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Daily Staff Digest, Jul 24, 1950, p 2; message, Dir of Training (McNaughton) to Whitehead, Jul 20, 1950, hist, Dir of Pers Planning, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, AF/HSOR K141.35, pp 4-5 and 16; *AF Times*, Jul 15, 1950, p 1. Among those "recalled" was Maj Steve Canyon, the famous comic strip character created by Milton Caniff. Maj Canyon "reported" to the 327th (Liberty Bell) Squadron stationed at Newcastle, Delaware, in late Sep or early Oct 1950. See *AF Times*, Oct 7, 1950, p 1.

16. DOD Ofc of Public Information press release no 1329-50, title: Revised Procedures for Calling up Reserves Announced by Mil Depts, Oct 26, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Daily Staff Digest, Oct 30, 1950, p 2. Available figures show that about 25 percent of those requesting delayed reporting had their wishes granted prior to the revised procedures and over 80 percent afterward. See hist, Dir of Pers Planning, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, p 6 and *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1 to Jun 31, 1951*, p 233.

17. Memo, Vandenberg to the SECAF (Finletter), subj: Involuntary Recall of Reserves, Dec 19, 1950, and memo, Finletter to Marshall, subj: Involuntary Recall of Reserves, Dec 21, 1950, both in DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

18. Cantwell, "Flying Club to Total Force," chap 5, pp 49 and 62; presentation by Brig Gen Harlan Parks to the House Appropriations Cmte, Jul 10, 1951, DCS/P 320.22, Ofcr Strength, Jan

1-Dec 31, 1951, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; Gross, *Prelude to the Total Force*, p 65 and appendix 1.

19. Memo, Vandenberg to multiple Air Staff agencies, subj: Involuntary Recall of the Inactive Reserve, Jul 26, 1951, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; ltr, Asst DCS (Wetzel) to CG/CONAC (Hale), Oct 4, 1951, D/PDP 320.33, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; Cantwell, "Flying Club to Total Force," chap 5, p 64; Daily Staff Digest, Jan 15, 1951, p 2 and Nov 8, 1951, p 2; memo, Asst DCS/P (Wetzel) to D/PMP (McCormick), subj: Release of Reserve Component Ofcrs, Apr 24, 1951, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, D/PMP (Parks) to the AF Comptroller (Stone), subj: Release of Reserve Ofcrs after Seventeen Months Active Duty, Nov 6, 1951, DCS/P 324, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Asst SECAF for Pers Management to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers (Rosenberg), untitled, Apr 8, 1952, papers of Gen Hoyt S. Vandenberg, box 63, SECDEF file, LOC; memo, Wetzel to Lyon, subj: Release from Active Duty of ANG Ofcrs, Dec 29, 1952, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA.

20. Cantwell, "Flying Club to Total Force," chap 5, p 75; memo, Asst Exec D/PMP (Lyle) to Plans and Program Div, D/PDP, subj: Ofcr Recall Program FY 1952, Jun 17, 1951, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Goldberg, *History of the USAF*, p 164; R&R sheet, Ch Programing Div, DCS/O (Spicer) to multiple Air Staff agencies, subj: Preparation of Mil Pers Programs, FY 1953, Oct 18, 1951, D/PDP 320.22, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

21. Memo, Vandenberg to DCS/P (Nugent) and DCS/O (Edwards), subj: Involuntary Recall of the Inactive Reserve, Jul 26, 1951, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book II-C, RG 341,

MMB, NA; Cantwell, "Flying Club to Total Force," chap 5, p 66; Gross, *Prelude to the Total Force*, appendix 2; Daily Staff Digest, Apr 18, 1952, p 3.

22. *AF Statistical Digest, Jan 1949-Jun 1950*, table 27, p 45; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1952*, table 2, p 342; CONAC hist, Jul 1950-Dec 1950, p 13.

23. Ltr, Lewis B. Cuyler to Finletter, untitled, Dec 19, 1950, DCS/P 319.1, RG 341, MMB, NA.

24. CONAC hist, Jul 1950-Dec 1950, pp 5 and 11-13.

25. CONAC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, pp 1-2.

26. Briefing on items mentioned in Symington's ltr, May 17, 1947, SECAF corr file 1947-1948, file 020 (USAF), RG 340, MMB, NA; 1956 promotion briefing, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 2-1 (1956) folder, WNRC; undated and untitled MFR signed by Lt Col F. W. Hyde, DCS/P 210.2, Promotions, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, MMB, NA.

27. Memo, Hopwood to Nugent, subj: Grade Recall of Reserve Ofcrs, Jul 3, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; undated and untitled MFR, signed by Lt Col F. W. Hyde, DCS/P 210.2, Promotions, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; 1956 promotion briefing, AAC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 2-1 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

28. Memo, Asst SECAF (Zukert) to the Chairman of the Reserve Forces Policy Board, untitled, Oct 17, 1951, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Hopwood to Nugent, subj: Grade Recall of Reserve Ofcrs, Jul 3, 1950, DCS/P 210.455, Recall, Dec 31, 1950, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

29. Memo, Kuter to McCormick, subj: Ofcrs Serving in Grades Lower than held in the Reserve or ANG of the US, Jan 10, 1952, Kuter papers, AF/HSOR microfilm reel 34166, frames 1523-24; memo, Kuter to Zuckert, subj: AF Temp Promotion Policy, Dec 12, 1951, D/PDP 1948-1953, Mil 3-1-1 folder, RG 341, MMB, NA.

30. Memo, Dep Inspector Gen

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(Eubank) to the Inspector Gen (Craig), subj: Rpt of Pers Utilization Survey, May 18, 1951, DCS/P 320.22, Utilization, Dec 31, 1951, book I-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

31. Ibid.

32. Memo, Ch Policy Div (Cheney) to SECAF Dir of Legislative Liaison, subj: Reply to Congressional Inquiry, Jun 10, 1952, D/PDP 330.11, Morale-Welfare, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, the Inspector Gen (Boatner) to Kuter, untitled, Feb 4, 1953, DCS/P 210.3, Assignments-Details, TDY-Transfers, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1953, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

33. Oscar Brand, "The Wild Blue Yonder," *Elektra Rcrds Specialty Series EKL-168*, 1955, Side 2, Cut 1.

34. Ltr, Actg AF/CC (Twining) to Senator Lester C. Hunt, untitled, May 13, 1952, papers of Gen Nathan F. Twining, box 56, reading file May 1952, LOC. The percentage of rated officers with reserve commissions was 77 percent, about the same as the percentage for all officers. See *Daily Staff Digest*, Jul 16, 1952, p 3.

35. *The Gallup Poll*, vol II, p 1052, survey 487-K; Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p 454; Cantwell, "Flying Club to Total Force," chap V, p 73.

36. Air Council briefing on Rated Morale, Oct 14, 1953, and memo, DCS/O (Partridge) to DCS/P (O'Donnell), subj: Rated versus Non-Rated Ofc's, Nov 19, 1953, both in ACC 63A-1531, box 3, 9-3.1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Twining to the Right Reverend Austin Pardue, untitled, Dec 31, 1952, Twining papers, box 58, reading file Dec 1952, LOC.

37. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, pp 106 and 109; ltr, Twining to Senator Lester C. Hunt, May 14, 1952, DCS/P 330.11, Morale-Welfare, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

38. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, pp 107 and 110.

39. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, pp 226-29.

40. Ibid, pp 117, 128-29, and 226-29; ltr, ATC Air Surgeon (McInay) to all

ATC flight surgeons, subj: Suspension from Flying Status, Feb 11, 1952, AAC 75-155, box 3, file 45A-1, RG 341, WNRC.

41. Ltr, "Randolph Reserves" to Senator Lester C. Hunt, untitled and undated, DCS/P 330.11, Morale-Welfare, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA. The ltr was written in the first half of Apr 1952.

42. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, pp 112 and 132-37.

43. Goldberg, *History of the USAF*, p 165.

44. Ltr, Dir of Legislation and Liaison (Eaton) to Mr. Francis Adams, untitled, May 13, 1952, Vandenberg papers, box 50, Lt Goodwin 1952 folder, LOC.

45. Ltr, LeMay to Vandenberg, untitled, May 10, 1949, and ltr, Vandenberg to LeMay, untitled, May 19, 1949, ACC 75-155, box 2, 35-1 (2) folder, (1946-1957), RG 341, WNRC; Cantwell, "Flying Club to Total Force," chap V, p 70; ltr, LeMay to CG, 15th AF (O'Donnell), untitled, Mar 25, 1949, DCS/P 210.2, Promotions, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, book IV-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

46. Intvw, Brig Gen William G. Hipps, Nov 28, 1984, pp 53-55, AF/HSOR; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1953, vol I, pp 114-15; ltr, Eaton to the chairman of an unspecified congressional cmte, untitled, Apr 25, 1952, DCS/P 210.49 (1952), RG 341, MMB, NA.

47. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, pp 115-16; R&R sheet, Cheney to the Promotions and Separations Div, subj: Proposed AFR Concerning Disposition of Ofc's Evidencing a Fear of Flying, Jun 10, 1952, DCS/P 210.49, Flying Duty, Dec 31, 1953, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Kuter to Twining, subj: Retroactive Application of Fear of Flying Policy, May 16, 1952, Twining papers, box 56, AF/CV folder, LOC.

48. *AF Times*, Jan 17, 1953, p 1; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1952, vol I, p 117.

49. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, pp 119 and 123.

50. Ibid, p 113; ltr, Mrs William Eames to the Asst SECDEF (Rosenberg),

untitled, Apr 25, 1952, D/PDP 330.11, Morale-Welfare, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA. In Dec 1950, an AU team in Korea cited the poor leadership given to recalled Reservists, so the problem was neither new nor unique to the ATC. See study, "Job Related Attitudes Expressed by 800 Reg and Voluntary Reserve and Involuntary Reserve Ofcra at Five FFAF Bases in Dec 1950," D/PDP 330.11, Morale-Welfare, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book II-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

51. ATC hist, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, vol I, pp 210-13.

52. *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1952*, table 25, pp 380-81; memo, Hopwood to McCormick, subj: Revised Force Objectives, DCS/P 320.22, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

53. PL 810, *US Code Congressional Service, 80th Cong, 2d Sess, 1948*, vol 1 (Brooklyn: Edward Thompson Co., 1948), section 202.

54. PL 476, *US Code Congressional and Administrative News, 82d Cong, 2d Sess, 1952*, vol 1 (Brooklyn: Edward Thompson Co., 1952), sections 202, 205, 206, and 250; Daily Staff Digest, Jul 15, 1952, p 5.

55. PL 476, sections 224 and 235 a and b; Daily Staff Digest, Sep 8, 1952, p 8 and Feb 13, 1953, p 2; *AF Times*, Oct 11, 1952, p 1; House of Representatives, 82d Cong, 2d Sess, rpt no 1066, subj: Active Duty Contracts, undated, DCS/P 270.3, Duty Assignments, Details and Transfers, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1953, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

56. Memo, D/PDP (Lee) to DCS/P (Kuter), subj: Unqualified Resignations of Reg Ofcra, Aug 15, 1952, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1953*, p 258; Daily Staff Digest, Oct 2, 1952, p 4; ltr, Ch Policy Div, D/PDP (Martin) to the Counsel of the House of Representatives' Cmte on Armed Services, undated, Nov 17, 1952, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA.

Another source had 84 percent of active duty reservists accepting the indefinite commissions. See Daily Staff Digest, Jul 9, 1953, p 3.

57. D/PDP project status rpt, subj: Active Duty Agreements; staff study (draft), subj: Reserve Ofcr Career Plans, undated; and staff study, subj: Active Duty Contracts, undated, all in ACC 63A-1531, box 2, Mil 1-5.1 file, RG 341, WNRC. Both staff studies were probably written in late 1953 or early 1954.

58. Project status rpt, subj: Active Duty Contracts, undated, ACC 63A-1531, box 2, Mil 1-5.1b, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jan 24, 1954, p 1 and Jan 30, 1954, p 8. There was also the provision that active duty contracts would not exceed 75 percent of the total ofcr strength. Since 52,000 reserve ofcra were on obligated tours and therefore ineligible, that left only about 53,300 eligible officers, well within the mandated ceiling. See DOD Directive (draft), subj: Active Duty Agreements, undated, ACC 63A-1531, box 2, Mil 1-5.1b file, RG 341, WNRC.

59. Ltr, ATC/CC (Harper) to Kuter, subj: Active Duty Tenure for Reserve Ofcra, Sep 8, 1953 and memo, Exec D/PDP to the Dir of the Ofc of Legislative Liaison, subj: Career Possibilities for Reserve Ofcra, Oct 1, 1953, both in DCS/P 330.11, Morale and Welfare, Jan 1-Oct 31, 1953, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; staff study (draft), subj: Reserve Ofcr Plans, undated, ACC 63A-1531, box 2, Mil 1-5.1b folder, RG 341, WNRC.

60. Staff hist, ACS Reserve Affairs, Jul 1, 1953-Jun 30, 1954, p 20, AF/HSOR K132.2; Active Duty Agreement rpt, Apr 1954, ACC 63A-1531, box 2, Mil 2-5.1b folder, RG 341, WNRC; SSS, Dep D/PDP (Cheney) to the Asst SECAF for Management (White), subj: Active Duty Agreements, Sep 17, 1953, ACC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Oct 1-16, 1953, RG 340, WNRC.

61. SSS, Cheney to White through Vandenberg, subj: Rpt of the Ad Hoc Cmte to Study Subject of "Severance Pay

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for Reserve Ofc's Involuntarily Released to Inactive Duty after Long Periods on Extended Active Duty," Oct 25, 1954 and memo, intraservice cmte to the SECDEF Reserve Forces Policy Board, subj: Ad Hoc Cmte to Study Subject of "Severance Pay for Reserve Ofc's Involuntarily Released to Inactive Duty After Long Periods of Extended Active duty," Sep 23, 1954, both in ACC 60A-1055, box 19, chronological file Oct 18-31, 1954, RG 340, WNRC.

62. Memo, Asst SECAF (Smith) to SECAF (Sharp), subj: Significant Accomplishments Affecting AFPers, Dec 3, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, chronological file Jan 1-15, 1958, RG 340, WNRC.

63. ATC hist, Jul 1, 1950-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, pp 130-32 and inclusion 1 and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1951, vol I, pp 41-42; hist, Training Div, Dir of Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, p 1, AF/HSOR K141.31; hist, HQ USAF, Jul 1, 1950-Jun 30, 1951, p 117, AF/HSOR K168.01-1A.

64. Barry H. Nickle, "Contract Flying Training in the ATC, 1939-1980," ATC Hist and Research Div monograph, Sep 1981, pp 1 and 13-14, AF/HSOR 220.601-5.

65. Ibid, p 1 and appendix IV; *AF Times*, Mar 17, 1951, p 8.

66. Daily Staff Digest, Mar 8, 1951, p 1; hist, Pers Procurement Div, Dir of Training, DCS/P, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1951, part II, p 1, ACC 67A-5075, box 1, WNRC; ATC hist, Jul 1, 1950-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, p 163.

67. ATC hist, Jul 1, 1950-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, p 170.

68. Hist, Pers Procurement Div, part II, p 4; Daily Staff Digest, Mar 9, 1951, p 1; ATC hist, Jul 1, 1950-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, p 180.

69. ATC hist, Jul 1, 1950-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, pp 171-72.

70. Ibid, pp 184-86; hist summ, Flying Training Div, Dir of Training, Jan 1, 1951-Jun 30, 1951, p 1, AF/HSOR K141.31; ATC hist, Jan 1, 1952-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, p 46; memo, Disosway to D/PDP (Parks), subj: Reduction of

Aviation Cadet Programs FY 1952, Jul 11, 1951, DCS/P 220.001, Aviation Cadets, Dec 31, 1953, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

71. ATC hist, Jul 1, 1950-Jun 30, 1951, vol I, p 184; hist, Pers Procurement Div, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, p 2; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1951, vol I, p 42.

72. Memo, Disosway to Wetzel, subj: Reduction in Enlistment Requirements for Aviation Cadets, Nov 23, 1951, DCS/P 200, Enlisted Men-Aviation Cadets, RG 341, MMB, NA; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1 to Jun 30, 1952*, p 212.

73. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, p 47; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952*, p 212.

74. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1951, vol I pp 49 and 55A, chart 14 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, p 54, chart 14.

75. Barry N. Nickle, "Maj Changes in Undergraduate Navigator Training, 1940-1980," Randolph AFB: ATC Hist and Research Div, Dec 1981, p 2.

76. Ibid, p 3; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1951, vol I, pp 49-50, p 58, and chart 1 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol I, pp 52-54. Even Barry Nickle could not quote figs for the period with any confidence. See Nickle, "Maj Changes in Undergraduate Navigator Training," pp 13-14.

77. Memo, D/PDP (Hopwood) to Kuter, subj: Rated Ofcr Strength End FY 1952, tabs A, B, and C, Mar 25, 1952, DCS/P 320.21, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book V-S, MMB, NA; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952*, p 212; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, vol I, p 142; Daily Staff Digest, Dec 21, 1950, p 2; hist, Pers Procurement Div, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, p 7; hist summ, Dir of Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, part II, p 1; *AF Times*, Feb 3, 1951, p 3.

78. Hist, Pers Procurement Div, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, p 6; hist summ, Dir of Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, p 1; *AF Times*, Mar 17, 1951, p 1; Ernest C. Tupes and Raymond E. Christal, "Recurrent Personality Factors Based on Trait Ratings," tech rpt ASD-TR-61-97 (Lackland AFB: AFSC Pers Laboratory),

May 1961, p 3.

79. Message, McCormick to multiple addressees, Jan 8, 1951, ACC 75-155, box 5, 55B-1 (1950-1952) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, D/PDP to Wetzel, subj: AFROTC, Jun 25, 1951, DCS/P 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; CONAC hist, Jul-Dec 1950, p 270; MFR, subj: ROTC Production for the 143-wing Level-Off, undated, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Nov 30, 1952, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; Daily Staff Digest, Jul 14, 1952, p 1; staff study, subj: Length of Initial Tour for ROTC Graduates, Dec 24, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Dec 1-Dec 31, 1952, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; R&R sheet, D/PDP (Parks) to Kuter, subj: AFROTC Legislation, Nov 30, 1951, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Hopwood to Kuter, subj: Rated Ofcr Strength End FY 1952, Mar 25, 1952, DCS/P 320.21, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; CONAC hist, Jul-Dec 1950, p 270; memo, Parks to Wetzel, subj: AFROTC, Jun 25, 1951, tab C, DCS/P 326.6,

ROTC, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; staff study, subj: Length of Initial Tour for ROTC Graduates, Dec 24, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Dec 1-Dec 31, 1952, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; *AF Times*, Mar 17, 1952, p 1.

80. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1951, vol I, pp 253-54 and vol IV, exhibits 10 and 114; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1953*, p 262.

81. Memo, Disosway to Wetzel, subj: AFROTC, Jun 29, 1953, DCS/P 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Disosway to Parks, untitled, Nov 20, 1951, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; hist summ, Ofc of Special Asst to the C/S Reserve Affairs, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1951, footnote 19, AF/HSOR K132.3.

82. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol IV, exhibit 100.

83. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol IV, exhibit 114 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1953, vol IV, exhibit 86, pp 17-52. The last cited source also contains the objectives for each subject and details about course material.

Chapter Six

1. *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1954*, table 113, p 227; *FY 1955*, table 129, p 263; *FY 1957*, table 138, p 255; Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, p 212; *AF Times*, Apr 24, 1954, p 1; paper, subj: Distribution of Mil Pers by Type of Pers—End Year, Nov 13, 1957, ACC 61A-1674, box 40, AF Budget, vol IV, (1957-60) folder, RG 340, WNRC; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1956*, table 132, p 269.

2. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, pp 451-53; Goldberg, *History of the USAF*, p 165; Ambrose and Barber, *Military and American Society*, p 11.

3. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, pp 208-10.

4. Memo, D/PDP (Lee) to Kuter, subj: AFROTC Legislation, Nov 30, 1951, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Lee to

Kuter, subj: Status of ROTC Planning, Nov 17, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Nov 30, 1952, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Lee to Disosway, subj: Procurement from the AFROTC Program, Dec 17, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Dec 1-Dec 31, 1952, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; ltr, Asst SECAF for Management (White) to the Chairman of the House of Representatives AF Panel (Scrivner), untitled, Aug 8, 1953, ACC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Sep 16-Sep 30, 1953, RG 341, WNRC.

5. Charles H. Coates and Roland J. Pellegrin, *Military Sociology: A Study of American Military Institutions and Military Life* (University Park, Md: The Social Science Press, 1965), p 85; SSS, Dir of Training (Harbold) to Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers (Rosenberg),

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subj: AFROTC Program Information for the Asst SECDEF (M&P), Mar 12, 1953, ACC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Mar 1-Mar 31, 1953, RG 340, WNRC; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, vol I, pp 51-52; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952*, p 213.

6. Memo, Harbold to the SECDEF Dir of Manpower Requirements, untitled, Oct 27, 1953, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Aug 1-Dec 31, 1953, book VI-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Hopwood to Kuter, subj: Rated Ofcr Strength End FY 1952, Mar 25, 1952, D/PDP 320.21, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1952, book V-S, RG 341, MMB, NA. Also see memo, Kuter to Col Noel Parrish, subj: Chief of Staff's Talk to College Presidents and PAS&Ts at Maxwell on 14 Oct, Oct 2, 1952, DCS/P 326.6, ROTC, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, RG 341, MMB, NA and *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952*, p 214.

7. Memo, Lee to Kuter, subj: ROTC Planning, Nov 17, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Nov 30, 1952, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

8. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1952, vol IV, exhibit 87; R&R sheet, Ch Plans and Program Div of D/PDP (Winstead) to the Ch Policy Div of D/PDP, subj: ROTC Active Duty Tours, Jun 30, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Nov 30, 1952, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

9. Memo, Hopwood to Kuter, subj: Length of Initial Tour for ROTC Graduates, Dec 24, 1952, and memo, Lee to Kuter, subj: Reorientation of the ROTC Program, Feb 20, 1953, both in D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Jul 31, 1953, book V-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

10. Memo, Harbold to SECDEF Dir of Manpower Requirements, untitled, Oct 27, 1953, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Aug 1-Dec 31, 1953, book VI-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

11. Hist, Pers Procurement Div, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, section III, pp 1-2 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1953, p 3; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1953*, p 257; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1952, vol I, p 142.

12. Memo, Harbold to Kuter, subj: Aviation Cadet Procurement, Jan 23, 1953 and memo, McCormick to DCS/P, same subject, undated, both in DCS/P 220.001, Aviation Cadets, Dec 31, 1953, book I-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

13. *AF Times*, Jun 27, 1953, p 1 and Oct 24, 1953, p 1; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, p 2, AAC 67A-5075, box 1, RG 341, WNRC; Daily Staff Digest, Jun 26, 1953, p 1 and Oct 20, 1953, p 3.

14. Memo, Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers (Rosenberg) to Finletter, subj: ROTC Quotas for FY 1954, Jul 8, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Nov 30, 1952, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; staff study, subj: Length of Initial Tour for ROTC Graduates, Dec 24, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Dec 1-31, 1952, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

15. R&R sheet, Lee to Kuter, subj: AFROTC Deferment Quotas, FY 1953, Aug 24, 1952 and MFR, subj: ROTC Production for the 143-Wing Level Off, undated, both in D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Nov 30, 1952, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; R&R sheet, Hopwood to Kuter, subj: Procurement Objectives from the AFROTC Program, Dec 17, 1952 and staff study, subj: Length of Initial Tour for ROTC Graduates, undated, tab C, both in D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Dec 1-Dec 31, 1952, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; SSS, Asst SECAF for Management (White) to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers (Rosenberg), subj: AFROTC Program Information for the Asst SECDEF (M & P), Mar 12, 1953, ACC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Mar 1-Mar 31, 1953, RG 340, WNRC.

16. *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1953*, table 181, p 333; R&R sheet, Winstead to the Policy Div, D/PDP, subj: ROTC Requirements, Sep 11, 1952, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Nov 30, 1952, book III-C, RG 341, MMB, NA. Other sources put the offer requirements for 143 wings as high as 177,544. See memo, Hopwood to McCormick, subj: Revised Force Objectives, Oct 15, 1951, D/PDP 320.22, Ofcr

Strength, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book IV-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

17. Memo, Lee to Kuter, subj: Ofcr Recalls for the Remainder of FY 53 and FY 54, May 6, 1953, DCS/P 210.455, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1953, RG 341, MMB, NA; R&R sheet, Ch Policy Div, D/PDP to Procurement Div, Dir of Training, subj: Ofcr Candidate School, Jul 8, 1953, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Jul 31, 1953, book V-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, O'Donnell to the Under SECDEF, subj: Ofcr Pers Adjustments—FY 1954, Aug 20, 1953, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, book V-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; *AF Times*, Jun 6, 1953, p 1; Daily Staff Digest, Jul 31, 1952, p 1, Oct 10, 1952, p 3, and Mar 5, 1953, p 1; hist, Procurement Div, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, p 5, ACC 67A-5075, box 1, RG 341, MMB, NA.

18. Memo, White to Vandenberg, untitled, May 27, 1953 and SSS, Dep D/PDP (Cheney) to White through O'Donnell and Vandenberg, subj: Identification and Selection for Separation of Subaverage Ofcrs, Jun 15, 1953, both in DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1953, book IV-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; message, O'Donnell to ALMAJCOM, subj: Release of Ofcrs in Connection with Reduction in Strength of the AF, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, book V-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

19. Memo, Dir of Manpower Requirements (Lynch) to White, untitled, May 14, 1953, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1953, book IV-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Dep D/PDP (Stone) to O'Donnell, subj: Phase III of RIF, Aug 27, 1953, DCS/P 210.8, Separations, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, book V-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

20. Memo, Cheney to Harbold, subj: ROTC Program Adjustments, Jul 20, 1953, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Jul 31, 1953, book V-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, White to the OSAF for Manpower Requirements, untitled, Jul 23, 1953, AAC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Jul 1-31, 1953, RG 340, WNRC.

21. Memo, Cheney to Harbold, subj: ROTC Program Adjustments, Jul 20, 1953, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Jul 31, 1953, book V-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

22. Press briefing held by the Hon John A. Hannah, Asst SECDEF, Jul 22, 1953, AAC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Sep 15-30, 1953, RG 340, WNRC; MFR, subj: Results of Mtg with the OSD (Absorption of ROTC graduates on Active Duty), Jul 29, 1953, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Jan 1-Jul 31, 1953, book V-S, RG 341, MMB, NA.

23. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, vol I, pp 49-51 and vol II, exhibit 42, p 5; ltr, CG 14th AF (Thomas) to O'Donnell, untitled, Aug 12, 1953, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Aug 1-Dec 31, 1953, book VI-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

24. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1953, vol II, exhibit 42; paper, Hist and Current Review of the ROTC Program, undated, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Aug 1-Dec 31, 1953, book VI-C, RG 341, MMB, NA. The paper was probably written in Oct or Nov 1953. Also see R&R sheet, Ch Policy Div, D/PDP (Latoszewski) to Harbold, subj: Jun 1954 AFROTC Graduates, D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Aug 1-Dec 31, 1953, book VI-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

25. Ltr, White to Congressman F. Edward Hebert, untitled, Aug 13, 1953, AAC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Aug 1-31, 1953, RG 340, WNRC; SSS, Cheney to White through O'Donnell and Vandenberg, subj: Establishment of AFROTC Graduates, Apr 19, 1954, ACC 60A-1055, box 21, chronological file Apr 19-30, 1954, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Senator Clyde Hoey to SECDEF (Talbot), untitled, Apr 20, 1954, ltr, Senator John W. Bricker to Talbot, untitled, Apr 26, 1954, and telegram, multiple AFROTC students to the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Cmte (Senator William Langer), Apr 22, 1954, all in ACC 60A-1055, box 21, chronological file May 3-14, 1954, RG 340, WNRC. In the last two cited sources, the senators received protests from AFROTC students at Ohio State University and North Dako-

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ta State University. Despite coming from widely separated groups, the wording is almost identical, suggesting a coordinated campaign to pressure the AF.

26. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1954, p 17; memo, White to Harbold, subj: Active Duty Tour for AFROTC Graduates, Jul 1, 1954, ACC 60A-1055, box 21, chronological file Jun 15-30, 1954, RG 340, WNRC.

27. Ltr, Asst SECAF (Smith) to the New York State Board of Law Examiners, untitled, Jun 13, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, chronological file Jun 1-15, 1957, RG 340, WNRC; semiannual hist, DCS, Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1954, vol II, p 12, AF/HSOR K141.24; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1 to Jun 30, 1954*, p 269; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1955, vol I, pp 134-35.

28. Memo, White to the Dep SECDEF, subj: Force Out to Ofcra Occasioned by the Call to Active Duty of ROTC Graduates, Aug 27, 1953, ACC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Aug 16-30, 1953, RG 340, WNRC.

29. Memo, White to Dep SECDEF, subj: Separation of AF Career Reservists, Sep 1, 1953, ACC 60A-1055, box 20, chronological file Sep 1-15, 1953, RG 340, WNRC; SSS, Lee to White, subj: Release of Ofcra to Affect Required Reduction in Strength, Oct 25, 1954, ACC 75-155, box 6, file FY 1954-1, RG 341, WNRC.

30. See note above; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1953*, table 181, p 333; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1954*, table 113, p 227.

31. Hist, Career Development and Classification Div, Dir of Training, Jul-Dec 1950, pp 3-4, AF/HSOR 141.31; memo, AF/CVC (McKee) to multiple Air Staff agencies, subj: Establishment and Implementation of the Ofcr Career Program, May 10, 1951, D/PDP 353.5, Careers, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book II-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; hist, Dir of Pers Planning, Jan-Jun 1951, p 16, AF/HSOR K141.35.

32. Memo, Ch Career Development

and Classification Div (Campbell) to DCS/P (Nugent), subj: Career Specialization for AF Ofcra, May 11, 1951, D/PDP 353.5, Careers, Jan 1-Dec 31, 1951, book II-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; *AF Times*, Mar 14, 1953, p 2, Sep 12, 1953, p 2, and Mar 13, 1954, p 1; George D. Campbell, Jr., "Career Plan for USAF Ofcra," *AU Quarterly Review*, Spring 1950, pp 35-39; Daily Staff Digest, Feb 1, 1954, p 1.

33. Memo, Dir of Pers, MATS (Golledge) to subordinate commanders and MATS staff, subj: Briefing on USAF World-Wide Pers Conference, Mar 27, 1953, D/PDP 337, Conferences, Mtgs, and Briefings, Jan 1-Apr 30, 1953, book V-S, RG 341, MMB, NA; Daily Staff Digest, Feb 1, 1954, p 1; *AF Times*, Sep 24, 1955, p 1.

34. AFM 36-1, Sep 1, 1955, pp 3-6, 11, and 183-93.

35. Ibid, pp 195-96.

36. *AF Times*, Mar 9, 1957, p 10; Daily Staff Digest, Feb 4, 1954, p 1. A subsequent request to increase the Reg ofcr force to 35,000 was presented to the House Armed Services Cmte in the spring of 1955, but was apparently never rpted out. See *AF Times*, Apr 30, 1955, p 15 and memo, Asst SECAF for Management and Pers (Smith) to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers (Burgess), subj: Proportion of Reg Ofcra in the AF, Dec 15, 1954, ACC 60A-1055, box 19, chronological file Dec 1-31, 1954, RG 340, WNRC.

37. SSS, D/PDP (Lee) to Smith, subj: Proportion of Reg Ofcra in the AF, Dec 10, 1954, ACC 60A-1055, box 19, chronological file Dec 1-31, 1954, RG 340, WNRC.

38. Study, subj: An Analysis of the Existing Legislation Governing the USAF Ofcr Structure, Air Command and Staff College special study group, Mar 1955, p 4, AF/HSOR K239.043-6; statement by the D/PDP (Stone) to the House Armed Services Cmte in support of H.R. 8692—a bill "to authorize Perm Appointments in the Armed Forces of the US, and for other purposes," undated, ACC

86-155, box 2, 91-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; SSS, Stone to SECAF (Quarles), subj: Reg Ofcr Augmentation (DOD 84-205), undated, ACC 86-155, box 2, 91 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

39. SSS, Stone to Quarles, subj: Reg Ofcr Augmentation (DOD 84-205), undated, ACC 86-155, box 2, 91 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

40. Memo, Quarles to the SECDEF (Wilson), subj: Reg Ofcr Augmentation, Apr 18, 1955, ACC 86-155, box 2, 91 folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Dir of Legislative Programs, OSD (Buddeke) to the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Rayburn), untitled, Jan 17, 1956, ACC 86-155, box 2, 91-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

41. Memo, Smith to Burgess, subj: Proportion of Reg Ofcrs in the AF, Dec 15, 1954, ACC 60A-1055, box 19, chronological file Dec 1-31, 1954, RG 340, WNRC; ltr, SECDEF (Wilson) to Eisenhower, Dec 23, 1955, memo, staff sec' of the President (Goodpaster) to Wilson, untitled, Jan 6, 1956, and memo, Burgess to the service secs, untitled, Jan 13, 1956, all in Twining papers, box 19, SECAF (1956) folder, LOC; PL 737, 84th Cong, sections 203 (a) and (a)(1), *US Code Congressional and Administrative News, 84th Cong, 2d Sess, 1956*, vol I, (Brooklyn: Edward Thompson Co, 1956) p 674.

42. Ltr, Ch Promotions and Separations Div, D/PDP (Henry) to ALMAJCOM and AFCAG-13, subj: Adjustment of Promotion List Service Dates, Dec 10, 1957, ACC 86-155, box 9, 101-5 (1973) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, May 18, 1957, p 1 and Dec 21, 1957, p 1. The redistribution of officers into the various year groups had at least two phases. In addition to the redistribution mentioned in the text, an earlier, and much smaller, adjustment was made in 1956. In that earlier adjustment, some 2,500 Regular officers augmented since 1947 received service credit for the number of years served after reaching 21 years of age. Awarding such credit had been policy in 1946 and 1947 (see chapter one) but had

apparently ceased after that. Since PL 737 reinstituted such credit, it was necessary to extend it to those officers augmented between 1948 and 1957 to give them parity. See *AF Times*, Nov 27, 1956, p 1.

43. Memo, AFPMP-4E (Berg) to the Ch Requirements and Analysis Div, PMP-11, subj: Study of USAF Requirements for Professional Installation Engineers (draft), Jun 6, 1957, ACC 61A-1396, box 1, Reg AF Augmentations—1957 (gen) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jun 27, 1957, p 1.

44. Memo, Actg AF/CC (Rogers) to the SECAF (Quarles), subj: Trial Run Augmentation of the Reg AF, Jan 29, 1957; draft ltr, subj: Augmentation of the Reg AF, undated; SSS, Dep D/PMP (Keese) to the Asst DCS/P, subj: Central Board Augmentation for the Reg AF—8 Year Group, Aug 7, 1957; and staff study, subj: Reg Ofcr Augmentation, undated. All materials in ACC 61A-1396, box 1, Reg AF Augmentation—1957 (gen) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

45. Briefing outline (2-year group), undated, ACC 61A-1396, box 1, Central Board Proceedings, Sep 23, 1957, (2-year group) folder, RG 341, WNRC; draft ltr, subj: Augmentation of the Reg AF, undated, 61A-1396, box 1, Reg AF Augmentation (1957) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

46. Staff study, subj: Reg Ofcr Augmentation, undated, ACC 61A-1396, box 1, Reg AF Augmentation—1957 (gen) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Daily Staff Digest, May 20, 1957, p 1; *AF Times*, Jun 22, 1957, p 1.

47. Memo, AFPMP-4E (Berg) to the Ch Requirements and Analysis Div, PMP-11, subj: Study of USAF Requirements for Professional Installations Engineers (draft), Jun 6, 1957, ACC 61A-1396, box 1, Reg AF augmentation—1957 (gen) folder, RG 341, WNRC; SSS, D/PMP (Reeves) to the AF/CVC (Smart), subj: Ltr of Instruction (Augmentation of Reg AF), Sep 11, 1957, ACC 61A-1396, box 1, Central Board Proceedings—Sep 23, 1957 (2-year group) folder, RG 341, WNRC; briefing outline for the four-year

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48. *AF Times*, Feb 15, 1958, p 1; memo, Reeves to Smith, subj: 1958 Augmentation Program Rpt, Nov 26, 1958, ACC 62A-1391, box 2, Reg AF augmentation—1958 (gen) folder, RG 341, WNRC; House of Representatives, Cmte on Armed Services Hearings on H.R. 8692, *Armed Forces Reg Ofcr Augmentation*, May 16, 1956, p 7757.

49. House of Representatives, Cmte on Armed Services Hearings on H.R. 8692, *Armed Forces Reg Ofcr Augmentation*, May 16, 1956, p 7759. This paragraph is an interpretation of the graph contained in the source cited in this footnote.

50. *Annual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jul 1, 1958 to Jun 30, 1959*, p 304; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1–Jun 30, 1959, p 1. A narrative of the convoluted legislative hist of the academy may be found in brief of the AF Academy project (May 1951), AF/HSOR K273.041–3 and “Chronological Brief of the Air Academy Project” (Jun 1951–Sep 1953), AF/HSOR K273.041–4. The AF Academy legislation was passed as PL 325, 83d Cong. See *US Congressional and Administrative News; 83d Cong, 2d Sess.* (Brooklyn: Edward Thompson Co., 1954), pp 59–61. In academic year 1958–59, the first year in which all four classes were present, the cadet corps had a maximum strength of only 1,144. Given the prevailing elimination rate, the corps’ strength by the end of that year was probably less than 1,000. See staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1–Dec 31, 1958, p 4.

51. Memo, Spaatz to Symington, subj: Procurement of Academy Trained Ofcrs, Oct 7, 1947, Mil Pers file 2, Oct 1–31, 1947, RG 18, MMB NA; SSS, D/PDP–2 (Easton) to multiple Air Staff addressees, subj: Procurement of Reg Ofcrs, May 19,

1949, DCS/P 320.21, Ofcr Strength, Jan 1–Dec 31, 1949, book II–S, RG 341, MMB, NA; Keller, “The Need for an AF Academy,” p 60; eight mtg of the Air Board, pp 102–3; Edward A. Miller, “The Founding of the AF Academy: An Administrative and Legislative Hist” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1969), pp 204–5.

52. Miller, “The Founding of the AF Academy,” pp 197–98.

53. Eighth mtg of the Air Board, p 111.

54. *Ibid*, pp 108–12.

55. Miller, “The Founding of the AF Academy,” pp 232–34.

56. Ltr, Chairman of the House of Representatives Cmte on Armed Services (Vinson) to the SECAF (Symington), untitled, Mar 20, 1950 in attachments to brief on the AF Academy project, tab 113, AF/HSOR K273.041–3.

57. Memo, Maj Gen Thomas D. White to the Dir of Legislation and Liaison, OSAF (Hall), untitled, Sep 21, 1950, in attachments to the brief on the AF Academy project, tab 124; MFR by the Special Asst for AF Academy Matters (Harmon), subj: AF Academy, Jan 5, 1951, in *ibid*, tab 136. The site selection committee actually completed its work in May 1951 with the identification of eight suitable locations for the proposed academy. The site most favored was “Pikeview” at Colorado Springs. Heeding Vinson’s admonishment, the committee’s recommendations were never made public. Once the enabling legislation had been approved, the committee once again surveyed numerous sites before recommending three as being suitable—Colorado Springs; Altoona, Ill; and Lake Geneva, Wis. Again, the Colorado Springs location enjoyed the most support and was the one picked by the air sec. See Miller, “The Founding of the AF Academy,” pp 336–37 and rpt to the SECAF by the AF Academy Site Selection Commission (1954), AF/HSOR K273.041–2.

58. Brief on the AF Academy project (May 1951), p 9; SSS, Harmon to the AF/CC (Vandenberg), subj: Flying Train-

ing at the AF Academy, Jun 4, 1950, in attachments to brief on the AF Academy project (May 1951), tab 118.

59. Miller, "The Founding of the AF Academy," pp 352-53.

60. Ibid, pp 365-66; *The USAF Academy's First Twenty-Five Years: Some Perceptions*, (Colorado Springs: USAF Academy, 1979), pp 294-95; "Chronological Brief of the AF Academy Project (Jun 1951-Sep 1953)," pp 10-11.

61. *The USAF Academy's First Twenty-Five Years*, pp 299-300.

62. Hist of the USAF Academy, Jun 13, 1956-Jun 9, 1957, vol I, pp 305-7, AF/HSOR K273.01; ltr, Maj Gen Dale O. Smith to the author, Jun 18, 1990.

63. Paper, "Program of Instruction (Mar 1953)," tab 1, AF/HSOR K273.211-14. Tabs 2 and 3 contain the Academy's proposed mil and flight training programs. Also see Col Arthur E. Boudreau, "Academic Program of Instruction of the USAF Academy," Nov 20, 1952, AF/HSOR K373.041-4.

64. "The Enrichment Program of the USAF Academy (Apr 15, 1964)," pp 1-3, AF/HSOR K273.211-19.

65. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1959, p 1.

66. Staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1959, p 25.

67. Ltr, Arnold to Lt Gen George C. Kenney, untitled, Apr 5, 1943; Kenney papers, vol V, AF/HSOR; "Pers Problems Relating to AAF Commissioned Ofcrs, 1939-1945," AF hist study no 11, AU hist div, 1951, pp 113 and 121-25. Kenney responded to Arnold's letter by naming 36 brig gens and 203 cols, figures that suggest a real need to cleanse the higher ranks of the AAF. See ltr, Kenney to Arnold, untitled, May 1, 1943, Kenney papers, vol V.

68. MFR, USAF Selection Board, subj: Removal of Reg Army Ofcrs from the active list under PL 190, 1941, Oct 2, 1947, decimal file 210.8, Separations (1946-1947), vol I, RG 18, MMB, NA; ltr, Edwards to various maj commanders, subj: Questionnaire on Undesirable and Substandard Ofcrs, Jul 14, 1948, decimal

file 201.3, RG 18, MMB, NA.

69. Staff study, subj: Separation or Demotion of Marginal and Substandard Ofcrs, Nov 16, 1956, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 3 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo for the Asst SECDEF for Manpower, Pers, Reserve Affairs (Francis), subj: Elimination of Certain USAF Ofcr Pers, Jul 30, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, chronological file Jul 16-31, 1957, RG 340, WNRC. The individual case histories of officers considered for demotion, separation, or elimination are sprinkled throughout the files of the AF/CV and the Asst SECAF for Management. Due to constraints imposed by the controlling authorities, the author is prohibited from referencing individual cases and specific locations.

70. Staff study, subj: Separation or Demotion of Marginal and Substandard Ofcrs, Nov 16, 1956, tab A, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 3 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

71. Ibid. Also see ltr, Dep D/PMP (Hardy) to various maj commanders, subj: Show Cause Actions under AFR 36-2, Jan 31, 1957, ACC 75-155, box 2, 35-1(2) (1946-1957) folder, RG 341, WNRC and AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1957, vol III, supporting document 45.

72. AFR 36-40, Jul 25, 1957, paragraphs 4 and 5; AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1957, vol III, supporting document 45. The transgressions that could land an officer on a control roster ranged from a long history of poor performance to a single unsatisfactory or marginal efficiency report. See *AF Times*, Jun 22, 1957, p 1 and AFR 36-40, paragraph 2.

73. Daily Staff Digest, Dec 31, 1957, item 5; *AF Times*, Nov 23, 1957, p 1.

74. SSSS, D/PMP (Reeves) to the SECAF (Douglas), subj: Board Proceedings (Demotions, FY 1958-1), Nov 20, 1957, ACC 62A-1391, box 2, Demotion Board proceedings-Jan 2, 1958 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Oct 12, 1957, p 1. The presumption that commanders preferred AFR 36-35 over AFR 36-2 is partly based on a lack of evidence that the latter regulation enjoyed

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wider usage after the changes of 1957.

75. For a comparison with the civilian methods of compensation, see Robert E. Sibson, *Compensation* (New York: AMACOM, 1974); Henry L. Tosi, Robert J. Howe, and Marvin D. Dunnette, ed., *Managerial Motivation and Compensation* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1972); Peter F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954); Richard I. Henderson, *Compensation Management: Rewarding Performance* (Reston, Va: Prentice Hall, 1979); and Henry Phelps Brown, *The Inequity of Pay* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

76. Memo for Maj Gen Robert E. Nugent, subj: Rpt of the Ad Hoc Cmte on Ofcr Career Opportunities, Jun 26, 1950, ACC 86-155, box 5, 134-1 (1949-50) folder, RG 341, WNRC. Copy in DCS/P 353.5, Careers, Dec 31, 1950, book I, RG 341, MMB, NA.

77. Ibid.

78. Memo, D/PDP (Parks) to the D/PMP (McCormick), subj: Temp Promotions to the Grades of Maj, Lt Col, and Col, Dec 20, 1950 and memo, McCormick to Parks, untitled, Dec 22, 1950, ACC 86-156, box 2, Hist of Temp Promotions, 1949-1950 folder, RG 341, WNRC; promotion briefing (1956), ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 1 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC; OPA of 1947, section 507(8)(b); statement by Maj Gen Morris J. Lee, D/PDP, before the House Cmte on Armed Services, Feb 16, 1953, DCS/P 110, Appropriations, RG 341, MMB, NA; PL 7, 83d Cong. extract found in ACC 86-155, box 2, 90 folder, RG 341, WNRC; MFR, subj: Davis Amendment, Dec 5, 1952, ACC 86-155, box 2, 89 folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: Evolution of the Up or Out System, undated, ACC 86-155, box 1, ADM-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC. The talking paper dates from about 1957.

79. Paper, Ofcr Perm/Temp Promotions, undated, ACC 86-155, box 11, 134-28 folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Dir of Legislative Liaison (Kelly) to the Chairman of Subcmte no 2 of the House

Armed Services Cmte (Arends), untitled, Oct 1953, ACC 86-155, box 8, 94-6 (1953-1972) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo for the OSD, subj: Statements Concerning Grade Structure, undated, DCS/P 210.2, Promotions, Jan 1-Jul 31, 1953, book X-C, RG 341, MMB, NA.

80. Briefing for the Asst SECAF for Manpower, Pers, and Reserve Affairs (Smith), Dec 13, 1957, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 2 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC; paper, Ofcr Perm/Temp Promotions, undated, ACC 86-155, box 11, 134-28 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

81. Talking paper, subj: Evolution of the Up or Out System, undated, ACC 86-155, box 1, ADM-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

82. Study, subj: Promotion Hist 1949-1965, ACC 86-154, box 9, 78-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; staff study, subj: Reduction from Temp to Perm Grade of all Active Duty Ofcrs, Oct 10, 1957, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 3 folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Dep D/PDP (Merrill) to the staff dir of the Def Advisory Cmte on Professional and Tech Compensation, subj: Promotions in the AF, Jul 30, 1956, ACC 61A-1131, box 1, Mil 4-1 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Ch Policy Div of the Dir of Pers Planning (Aring) to the D/PDP (Nazzaro), subj: Service Characteristics of Ofcrs Selected for Promotion, Dec 11, 1957, ACC 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 5-2 (1957), RG 341, WNRC; MFR, subj: Information for the Kilday Subcmte, Feb 3, 1958, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 5-1-3 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Actg Ch Promotion Branch of the Policy Div of the Dir of Pers Planning, (Brachette) to Col Latoszewski, subj: Ofcrs Required vs Ofcrs Assigned, Mar 8, 1956, ACC 86-155, box 9, 101-1 (1955-56) folder, RG 341, WNRC; tables, USAF Non-Reg Ofcrs on AD by Perm Grade and by Grade in Which Serving as of Mar 31, 1955, undated, D/PDP 1947-56, Mil 4, Promotions, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Dep D/PDP (Merrell) to the D/PTR, Nov 10, 1958, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, 6-9 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

83. MFR, subj: Information for the Kilday Subcmte, Feb 3, 1958, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 5-1-3 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC; speech, subj: Promotions, undated, ACC 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 2 (1957), folder, RG 341, WNRC. The last cited source was a part of a D/PDP folder dated Oct 10, 1957. The minimum time-in-grade requirements for temporary field grade promotions was about four years. See *AF Times*, Mar 9, 1957, p 2.

84. Speech extract, untitled, undated, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 5-1 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC; 1956 promotion briefing, undated, p 20, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 2-1 (1956), RG 341, WNRC; paper, subj: The USAF Promotion System, Aug 2, 1955, DCS/P 1948-1953, Mil 3-1, (Plans and Policies Temp) folder, RG 341, MMB, NA; ltr, ATC/CC (Myers) to the AF/CVC (Smart), untitled, Mar 29, 1956, ACC 60A-1131, Mil 5-4-3 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Smart to Myers, untitled, Apr 24, 1956, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 5-4-3 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

85. SSS, D/PDP (Lee) to the D/PMP (Reeves), subj: Methods of Selection—FY 1956 Temp Promotion Program, Apr 29, 1955, ACC 61A-1192, box 1, Mil 3-1-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; message, Asst DCS/P (Stone) to the 16th AF Commander, Nov 5, 1956, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 5-4-3 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC; staff study, subj: Method of Selection—FY 1956 Temp Promotion Program, Apr 1955, ACC 61A-1192, box 1, Mil 3-1-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

86. "The SAC Spot Promotion Program: Its Rise and Demise," SAC hist study no 167, pp 3-4. Copy found in ACC 86-155, box 1, hist 1978-1979 folder, RG 341, WNRC. The number given for the first spot promotion increment varies. A report in the mid-1960 placed the number at 442, but that seems much too high considering the extremely tight promotion picture of the late 1940s. See fact sheet, subj: USAF Spot Promotion Program, undated, ACC 86-154, box 4, file 52, RG 341, WNRC.

87. Memo, Special Asst to the SECAF for Manpower, Pers, and Reserve Affairs (Thompson) to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower, Pers, and Reserve Affairs, subj: Quantico Conference, Oct 6, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 13, Oct 1-15, 1959 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC. Peak spot promotion quotas in 1959 were 185 lt cols, 525 majs, and 140 capts.

88. Briefing on the Spot Promotion System presented to the DCS/P (O'Donnell), undated, and staff study (draft), subj: staff study on the AF Use of "Spot" Promotions, undated, both in ACC 86-154, box 4, 52 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

89. "The SAC Spot Promotion Program," pp 20-21.

90. Staff study, subj: Hump Study, undated, pp 13-14 and 16.

91. Ibid, p 49 and illustration 4; memo, Ch Policy Div, Dir of Pers Planning (Latoszewski) to Brig Gen Stone, subj: Annual Procurement Required to Maintain a Force of 138,000 Ofcs, Jan 17, 1955, ACC 86-155, box 9, 101-1 (1955-56) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

92. It is impossible to state with any accuracy how many "pushers" "pushed" how many officers into early promotions. What figures there are in the available materials tend to deal with extreme cases such as the one pusher who affected 2,000 other officers. See remarks by Lt Col John D. Coffey, Ch Promotion Policy Div to the Senate Armed Services Cmte, Oct 27, 1955, ACC 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 2 (1957) folder, RG 341, WNRC; presentation by Col E. J. Laroszewski to the AWC, Jun 8, 1956, p 5, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 5-2-4-1 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Dep D/PDP (Cox) to the Dir of the Ofc of Legislative Liaison, subj: Promotion Policies of the AF, Mar 26, 1957, 60A-1137, box 2, Mil 4-2-3 (1957) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Ch Policy Div of the Dir of Pers Planning (Aring) to the D/PDP (Nazaro), subj: Service Characteristics of Ofcs Selected for Promotion, Dec 11, 1957, 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 5-2 (1957) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

93. Memo, Asst SECAF (Smith) to the

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SECAF (Douglas), subj: Pers Problems, Jan 13, 1958, tab 7, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jan 1-15, 1958 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; memo, Ch Legislative Div of the OSAF (Green) to Nazzaro, subj: Questions Generated as a Result of the Recent Fld Visit of Mr. Braswell Regarding Implementation of the Cordiner Proposal (S. 2014), Nov 27, 1957, question 4, ACC 61A-1131, box 2, Mil 3-1 (1957) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

94. *AF Times*, May 5, 1956, p 1, Dec 15, 1956, p 14, Jan 12, 1957, p 1; paper submitted in answer to the question "What is the promotion outlook for AF ofcers," undated, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 4-1 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, unknown agency to the DCS/P (O'Donnell), subj: Temp Promotion Quotas, undated, ACC 60A-1131, box 1, Mil 5-4-2 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

95. Answer submitted in response to the question "What has happened in perm promotion to maj and lt col since passage of the OPA," undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 102 (1958-59) folder, tab 29, RG 341, WNRC.

96. Briefing, "A Presentation of U.S. AF Ofcr Promotion Factors," undated, ACC 61A-1131, box 1, Mil 2 (1956) folder, RG 341, WNRC; "Promotion Briefing," undated, ACC 86-155, box 5, 93-2-Bolte folder, RG 341, WNRC.

97. Memo, Actg Asst DCS/P (Harbold) to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers, subj: Reg Ofcr Promotion System, Aug 2, 1955, DCS/P numeric file 1947-55, Mil 1-1 folder, RG 341, MMB, NA; staff study, subj: Perm Promotion of Reg AF Ofcers to the Grades of Maj and Lt Col in CY 1958, Apr 4, 1958, ACC 86-154, box 13, 79 folder, RG 341, WNRC; promotion brief, undated, ACC 86-155, box 5, 93-2-Bolte folder, RG 341, WNRC.

98. Tables, subj: Promotion Hist 1949-1965, undated, ACC 86-154, box 9, 78-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: Evolution of the Up-or-Out System, undated, ACC 86-155, box 2, Adm-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1959, p 22.

99. Memo, Smith to Douglas, subj: Pers Problems, Jan 13, 1958, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jan 1-15, 1958 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1 to Jun 30, 1956*, p 16; memo, Lt Col John C. Coffey to Col Aring, subj: Basic Promotion Philosophies of OPA vs Cordiner Recommendations, Nov 21, 1957, ACC 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 3-1 (1957), RG 341, WNRC; staff study, subj: Promotion System for AF Ofcers, Nov 27, 1957, ACC 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 4-1 (1957), RG 341, WNRC.

100. Staff study, subj: Promotion System for AF Ofcers, Dec 9, 1957, ACC 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 4-1 (1957) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Under SECAF (MacIntyre) to the SECDEF (Wilson), subj: Ofcr Programs 1960-1963, Jun 12, 1958, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jun 1-15, 1951 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; answer to the question "What is the promotion outlook for AF ofcers," Mar 14, 1958, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 4-1 (1958) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, May 4, 1957, p 1.

101. *AF Times*, Feb 15, 1958, p 1; SSS, D/PDP (Ligon) to the Asst SECAF for Manpower and Pers (Smith), subj: Selection Rates for Perm Promotion of Reg Ofcers to Maj in 1959, Aug 20, 1959, ACC 86-154, box 13, 79 (CY 1959 Perm Col, Lt Col, Maj, and Capt-Reg AF) folder, RG 341, WNRC; staff study, subj: Promotion System for AF Ofcers, Dec 9, 1957, ACC 60A-1131, box 2, Mil 4-1 (1957), RG 341, WNRC; staff study, subj: Perm Promotion of Reg AF Ofcers in the Grades of Maj and Lt Col in CY 1958, Apr 4, 1958, ACC 86-154, box 13, 79 (CY 58 Perm Lt Col and Maj Reg AF) staff study folder, RG 341, WNRC.

102. SSS, Ligon to Smith, subj: Selection Rates for Perm Promotion of Reg Ofcers to Maj, 1959, Aug 20, 1959, ACC 86-154, box 13, 79 (CY 1959 Perm Col, Lt Col, Maj, and Capt-Reg AF) folder, RG 341, WNRC; hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1959, p 4 and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1959, p 5.

103. Briefing, subj: AF Grade Author-

izations, undated, ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Under SECAF (MacIntyre) to the SECDEF (Wilson), subj: Ofcr Programs FY 1960-1963, Jun 12, 1958, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jun 1-15, 1958 chronological folder, RG 341, WNRC.

104. George F. Lemmer, "The Changing Character of AF Manpower; 1958-1959," USAF Hist Div Liaison Ofc, Apr 1961, p 25, AF/HSOR K168.01-7; ltr, Special Asst to the SECAF for Manpower, Pers, and Reserve Forces (Thompson) to the Dir of the Bureau of the Budget (Stans), untitled, Jun 9, 1959, ACC 65A-3152, box 13, Jun 1-15, 1959 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; memo, Asst SECAF/MRRF (Smith) to Asst SECDEF/MP&R (Francis), subj: Planned Ofcr Strength and Grade Reductions, Mar 31, 1958, draft memo, subj: Ofcr Programs FY 1960-FY 1963, undated, staff study, subj: Planned Ofcr Strength and Grade Reductions, Mar 20, 1958, and memo Dep SECDEF (Quarles) to Douglas, subj: Ofcr Ratios for FY 1958 and 1960, Dec 7, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Mar 1-15, 1958 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC.

105. Lemmer, "Changing Character of AF Manpower," pp 25-26.

106. SSS, D/PDP (Nazzaro) to Asst SECAF/MRRF (Smith), subj: Planned Ofcr Strength and Grade Reductions, Mar 26, 1958, staff study, subj: Planned Ofcr Strength and Grade Reductions, Mar 1958, memo, Smith to Dep SECDEF/MP&R (Francis), subj: Planned Ofcr Strength and Grade Reductions, Mar 31, 1958, memo, Dep Asst SECDEF (Jackson) to Asst Service Secs for Manpower, Pers, and Reserve Affairs, subj: Ofcr programs FY 1960-1963, May 29, 1958, memo, CS (White) to SECAF (Douglas), subj: Programs FY 1960-1963, date ob-

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107. Paper, subj: Amendment to the Ofcr Grade Limitation Act of 1954, undated, ACC 86-159, box 2, 89 folder, RG 341, WNRC; SSS, subj: AF Requests for Additional Maj's, Jun 29, 1959 and memo, Dep SECAF for Manpower, Pers, and Organization (Goode) to the SECDEF (McElroy), subj: Request for 3,000 Additional Maj's, Jun 29, 1959, both in ACC 86-155, box 9, 102 (1958-59) folder, tab 29, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Douglas to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower, Pers, and Reserve Affairs, subj: Revised Legislative Proposal "to Amend Title 10, US Code, to Revise the Ofcr Grade Distribution Authorized for Active Duty AF Ofcrs," Mar 2, 1959, ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

108. Ltr, McElroy to the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Rayburn), untitled, Jul 7, 1959, ACC 86-155, box 9, 102 (1959) folder, RG 341, WNRC. An identical letter was sent to the President of the Senate. Also SSS, Ligon to Thompson, subj: Active Duty (Temp) Promotion Criteria, Sep 24, 1959, ACC 65A-3152, box 13, Sep 16-30, 1959 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; statement by Gen Thomas D. White, AF/CC, before the House Armed Services Cmte, undated and statement by Maj Gen E. S. Ligon, Jr., to the Senate Armed Services Cmte, undated, both in ACC 86-155, box 9, 102 (1959) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Dep Asst SECDEF (Jackson) to the Asst Secs for Manpower, Pers, and Reserve Forces, subj: Ofcr Programs FY 1960-FY 1963, May 29, 1958, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jun 1-15, 1958 chronological folder, RG 341, WNRC.

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2. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: A Personal Account*, vol II, *Waging Peace* (Garden City, New York:

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3. Memo, DCS/P (O Donnell) to the AF/CC (White), subj: Pers Actions to Reduce Mil Strength in FY 1958, Jul 15, 1957, ACC 61A-1396, box 4, AF RIF program folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Dep D/PMP (Merrell) to the Asst SAF/MPRF (Smith) subj: Pers Planning for Reducing Mil Strength, Aug 8, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, Aug 1-15, 1957 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC.

4. Rpt of the RIF program for FY 1958, pp 5-6 and 8-9, ACC 63-1192, box 1, RIF 1958 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

5. Ibid, pp 19-23; rpt of the proceedings of the Board of Ofcrs (selection board, RIF, FY 58-1), Aug 2, 1957, ACC 61A-1396, box 4, AF RIF board proceedings—Jul 30, 1957 folder, RG 341, WNRC; staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, p 20; SSS, D/PMP (Reeves) to Smith, subj: Selection Board, RIF, Aug 14, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, Aug 1-15, 1957 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC.

6. Memo, Dep D/PMP (Merrell) to Asst SAF/MRRF (Smith), subj: Pers Plan for Reducing Mil Strength, Aug 8, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, Aug 1-15, 1957 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; *AF Times*, Sep 7, 1957, p 7.

7. Memo, Smith to Asst SECDEF/MP&R (Francis), subj: Pers Plan for Reducing Mil Strength, Sep 27, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, Sep 1-30, 1957 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Sep 18, 1957, p 1 and Oct 12, 1957, p 1; rpt of RIF program for FY 1958, undated, p 33, ACC 63A-1192, box 1, RIF 1958 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

8. Staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, p 20; rpt of RIF program for FY 1958, undated, pp 34-35, ACC 63A-1192, box 1, RIF 1958 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

9. SSS, D/PMP (Reeves) to the SAF (Douglas), subj: Selection Board—RIF, FY 58-2, Oct 16, 1957 and memo, AF/CC

(LeMay) to Douglas, subj: Involuntary Release of Reserve Ofcrs—Second Half of FY '58, undated, both in ACC 61A-1396, box 4, AF RIF-1957 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

10. *AF Times*, Jan 18, 1958, p 1.

11. Paper, subj: Ofcr Pers on Active Duty, undated, ACC 86-156, box 2, 1948-1965 Ofcr Pers on Active Duty folder, RG 341, WNRC. The paper probably dates from late 1965 or early 1966.

12. *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1957, table 133, pp 248-49 and FY 1960, table 133, p 224; Gerhardt, *The Draft and Public Policy*, p 216; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1957*, p 314; *AF Times*, Oct 6, p 1 and Jan 18, 1958, p 1; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1959, item 220, AF/HSOR K168.030164.

13. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, p 36; study, "Pilot Procurement Problems," Jul 1957, papers of Gen Thomas D. White, box 7, SECAF folder, pp 4-5 and 12, LOC.

14. Study, "Pilot Procurement Problem," White papers, box 7, SECAF folder, p 13, LOC.

15. Ibid, p 22; memo, AF/CC (White) to the SECAF (Quarles), subj: Pilot Procurement Problems, Aug 1, 1957, White papers, box 7, SECAF folder, LOC; hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, p 4.

16. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, vol I, p 65; *AF Times*, Aug 24, 1957, p 1; study "Pilot Procurement Problem," Jul 1957, White papers, box 7, SECAF folder, p 15, LOC.

17. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1955, vol I, pp 22-23 and 53.

18. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1954, vol I, chart 2, p 154 and p 159; *AF Times*, Nov 30, 1957, p 12.

19. ATC hist, May 29, 1954, p 1, Apr 27, 1957, p 1, and Nov 30, 1957, p 12; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1954, vol I, p 155; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1954, vol I, p 179; and Jun 1-Dec 31, 1956, vol I, p 75.

20. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1954, vol I, p 158; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1956, vol I, p 80; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, vol I, p 110; Jan

1-Jun 30, 1958, vol I, p 39.

21. Staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1956, pp 114-15; *AF Times*, Jul 20, 1957, pp 1 and 10.

22. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1954, vol I, pp 68, 70-71, and 141-42. About 8,500 of those cadets were expected to earn their wings and a commission. See *AF Times*, May 29, 1954, p 12.

23. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1954, vol I, pp 33-36 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1957, vol I, pp 46-47; study, "Pilot Procurement Problem," White papers, box 7, SECAF folder, LOC. In assessing the overall decline in the Aviation Cadet program it was necessary in many cases to assume that the impact on navigator training, where the evidence is sparse, was of the same magnitude as on pilot training, where the documentation is plentiful. The instances where the data are available on both pilot and navigator training suggests that such an assumption is largely correct.

24. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1959, vol I, p 33 and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1959, vol I, p 86.

25. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1955, p 12 and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1956, p 10; ltr, Asst SECAF (Smith) to the President of the University of New Hampshire (Johnson), untitled, Sep 30, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, Sep 16-30, 1957 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, vol I, p 36.

26. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1954, vol I, p 72 and Jan 1-Jun 31, 1958, vol III, supporting document 23; *Annual Rpt of the SECDEF Jul 1, 1958 to Jun 30, 1959*, p 310; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1959, item 277, AF/HSOR K168.030164. Oddly, AFROTC graduates from schools with compulsory ROTC were more likely to be career oriented, but the difference was too slight to justify support of compulsory ROTC. See AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1958, vol III, supporting document 50.

27. Memo, Dep Dir of Training (Persons) to DCS/P (Kuter), subj: Conference Regarding Criteria for Withdrawal of AFROTC Units, Aug 18, 1953,

D/PDP 326.6, ROTC, Aug 1-Dec 31, 1953, book VI-C, RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, Asst SECAF (White) to the AF/CC (Vandenberg), subj: Disestablishment of AFROTC Units, Sep 8, 1953, ACC 60A-1055, box 20, Sep 1-15, 1953 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC.

28. Memo, H. Lee White to Gen Thomas D. White, subj: Disestablishment of AFROTC Units, Mar 31, 1954 and memo, White to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers (Hannah), subj: Disestablishment of AFROTC Units, Apr 12, 1954, both in ACC 60A-1055, box 21, Apr 1-16, 1954 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; memo, White to DCS/P (O'Donnell), subj: Disestablishment of AFROTC Units, Jun 30, 1954, ACC 60A-1055, box 21, Jun 15-30, 1954 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC.

29. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1955, vol I, p 57 and vol III, supporting documents 39 and 41. It was only with the convening of the panel of civilian educators that the possibility of eliminating some of the weaker AFROTC units first surfaced in the media. See *AF Times*, Jan 1, 1955, p 1.

30. *AF Times*, Oct 15, 1955, p 9; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1955, p 9; ltr, Smith to the President of Yale University (Griswald), untitled, Apr 25, 1955, ACC 63A-1536, box 1, Yale University folder, RG 341, WNRC; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1955, vol I, pp 56 and 58-59. The last cited source contains a list of the schools notified of disestablishment and a list of those that accepted.

31. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1956, vol I, pp 20-21. Four more colleges requested disestablishment by the end of the decade. See AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1957, vol I, pp 40-41. A folder on each of the schools involved in the disestablishment decision may be found in ACC 63A-1536, RG 341, WNRC.

32. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1958, vol I, p 75.

33. Ltr, President of Western Reserve University (Millis) to the SECAF (Quarles), untitled, Feb 8, 1956, ACC

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63A-1536, box 1, Western Reserve University folder, RG 341, WNRC.

34. Gene M. Lyons and John W. Masland, *Education and Military Leadership: A Study of the R.O.T.C.*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp 174-75. College professors also found the quality of ROTC instruction too low to effectively teach those ROTC courses with a strong academic orientation. Significantly, over half the AFROTC students agreed with that assessment. See *ibid*, pp 195 and 198-99; ltr, President of Williams College (Baxter) to the Dir of Pers Procurement and Training (Carmichael), untitled, Feb 22, 1956, ACC 63A-1536, box 1, Williams College folder, RG 341, WNRC; AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1958, vol I, p 85.

35. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1956, p 7; *AF Times*, Jul 23, 1955, p 1, Jul 28, 1956, p 6, Dec 15, 1956, p 5, and Mar 2, 1957, p 2; memo, Smith to Quarles, subj: The Pilot Training Problem, Apr 24, 1957, ACC 65A-3152, box 8, Apr 16-30, 1957 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; draft ltr, SECAF (Douglas) to multiple university presidents, untitled, Aug 12, 1957, ACC 65A-3116, box 1, University of Pennsylvania folder, RG 341, WNRC; *Semiannual Rpt of the SECDEF, Jan 1 to Jun 30, 1957*, pp 314-15. Only 9 percent elected nonrated duties while 64 percent stood on their three-year contracts including flight training and 27 percent elected the five-year option. The fact that most stood on their original contract is strong evidence that tour length and not flying was the main factor among those making the choice.

36. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1957, vol I, pp 41-42 and vol III, supporting document 27 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1958, vol III, supporting document 23.

37. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1958, vol I, p 40; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1958, item 227; memo, Smith to the Dep SECDEF (Quarles), subj: Supplemental Ofcr Procurement Program, Apr 24, 1958, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Apr 16-30, 1958 chronological folder, RG

340, WNRC.

38. Paper, "Ofcr Training School Concept," undated, White papers, box 12, AFCCS reading file, Nov 1958, pp 2-3. The paper probably dates from Oct or Nov 1958. Also see Chief of Staff's policy book for 1959, item 227.

39. Paper, "Ofcr Training School Concept," pp 2 and 5. The insights into the interview process and the selection portfolio were gained by the author from his own OTS screening—Jan 20-22, 1960 at Sheppard AFB, Tex—and subsequent examination of his personnel records.

40. Memo, D/PTR (Hopwood) to the AF/CC (White), subj: Ofcr Training School Program, Nov 13, 1958, White papers, box 12, AFCCS reading file, Nov 1958, LOC; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1959, vol I, pp 80-81 and vol V, supporting documents 187-91. Supporting document 191 contains the OTS academic curriculum and training schedule.

41. *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1954*, table 101, p 204. The study was made by the "Strauss Commission," but no record of either the study or the commission itself was found in the materials researched. The study's conclusions and recommendations were reconstructed from other sources, mainly the memos cited in the next footnote.

42. MFR, subj: Recommendations of the Strauss Commission, undated, DCS/P 334, Boards, Commissions, Cmtes, etc., RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, White to Hannah, untitled, Oct 13, 1957, ACC 63A-1531, box 2, 3-2.1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

43. See note above; *AF Times*, Feb 27, 1954, p 1.

44. Semiannual hist of the DCS/P, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1955, vol II, p 65; staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1955, vol II, p 68 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1957, p 12; *AF Times*, Apr 30, 1955, p 12 and Dec 1, 1956, p 1.

45. Memo (Kestnbaum rpt), subj: Proficiency Flying, undated, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jan 1-15, 1959 chronological file, RG 340, WNRC.

46. Memo, SECAF (Quarles) to the

SECDEF (Wilson), subj: Proficiency Flying, Jan 29, 1957, memo, AF/CC (Twining) to Quarles, subj: Proposed Directive on Flying Status, Jan 27, 1959, and memo (Kestnbaum rpt), subj: Proficiency Flying, undated, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jan 1-15, 1959 chronological file, RG 340, WNRC; briefing, subj: Proficiency Flying, undated, AF/HSOR K239.042959-1; *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1958, table 149, p 273.

47. SSS, Dep DCS/O (Preston) to the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Pers (Smith), subj: Proficiency Flying, May 3, 1957 and memo, Smith to Wilson, subj: same subject, May 8, 1957, both in ACC 65A-3152, box 8, May 1-15 chronological file, RG 340, WNRC; *Daily Staff Digest*, Dec 4, 1957, item 2; *AF Times*, May 11, 1957, p 1 and Nov 30, 1957, p 1; paper, subj: AF Comments on the Kestnbaum rpt, undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 1, Mil 7-5-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

48. Extract from rpt no 1830, House of

Representatives, 85th Cong, 2nd Sess, DOD Appropriations Bill, 1959, subj: Proficiency Flying, May 28, 1958, ACC 69A-2312, box 1, Mil 7-5-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

49. Memo (Kestnbaum rpt), subj: Proficiency Flying, undated, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jan 1-15, 1959 chronological file, RG 340, WNRC. For a brief summary of the origins of flight pay, see Goldberg, *History of the USAF*, p 8; memo, Ch, Air Corps (Arnold) to the Asst C/S, C-1, subj: Flying Pay, Nov 17, 1938, AF/HSOR 168.603-66.

50. Paper, subj: AF Comments on the Kestnbaum Rpt, Jan 13, 1959, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Jan 1-15, 1959 chronological folder, RG 340, WNRC; ltr, SECDEF to the Chairman of the House Appropriations Cmte, untitled, Jan 13, 1959, ACC 63A-1531, box 2, A-2.22 (1959) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1959, table 149, p 259.

Chapter Eight

1. In addition to Gen Charles Bolte, the other retired flag officers on the committee were Lt Gen John Uncles (USA), Adm E. Tyler Woolridge (USN), Vice Adm Stuart Ingersoll (USN), Lt Gen Joseph Smith (USAF), Maj Gen Morris Nelson (USAF), Lt Gen Robert Pepper (USMC), and Brig Gen Forest Thompson (USMC). The committee was assisted by a staff of twelve active duty officers headed by Maj Gen Morris R. Nelson (USAF). See DOD Ofc of Public Affairs news release 2-61, subj: Cmte Recommends Changes in Ofcr Pers Act, Jan 5, 1961, ACC 86-155, box 6, 95-5 (1960-61) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

2. Memo, Chairman of the Ofcr Pers Act Cmte (Bolte) to DCS/P (Landon), subj: Ofcr Pers Act Cmte working papers, nos 32-36 and 39-43, Nov 4, 1960 and memo, D/PDP (Ligon) to Bolte, same subject, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-4 (1960) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

3. Ltr, Dep SECDEF (Gilpatric) to the

Speaker of the House of Representatives (McCormack), Mar 9, 1963, ACC 86-155, box 7, Bolte package folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Dec 10, 1960, p 20; memo, Gilpatric to SECDEF/MP (Runge), subj: Ofcr Pers Management, Oct 12, 1961, and "A Concept of Career Management for Ofcr Pers of the Armed Forces: A Rpt and Recommendations for the SECDEF by the DOD Ad Hoc Cmte to Study and Revise the Ofcr Pers Act of 1947" (Bolte cmte rpt), Dec 16, 1960, both in ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-15 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

4. Draft bill to amend Title 10, US Code, Relating to the Appointment, Promotion, Separation, and Retirement of Members of the Armed Forces and for Other Purposes (Bolte bill), Nov 15, 1962, sections 628 and 643(c) and Bolte cmte supplementary rpt, Apr 19, 1961, p 2, both in ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-15 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: Proposed Legislation Based

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on OSD Ad Hoc Cmte to Revise OPA of 1947 (DOD 88-8), undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-8 (1962) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Bolte cmte rpt, p 41; paper, subj: DOD Legislative item 88-8 (Bolte)-Ofcr Career Management, undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, Mil 15-2(8) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

5. Bolte cmte rpt, p 29A; paper, subj: DOD Legislative item 89-3 (Bolte)-Ofcr Career Management, ACC 86-155, box 5, 93-1 (Bolte proposal) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

6. See note above; draft Bolte bill, section 626(a); paper, subj: Summ of Proposed Bolte Legislation, Mar 28, 1962, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-8 (1962) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

7. Draft Bolte bill, section 481.

8. Paper, subj: Summ of Proposed Bolte Legislation, Mar 28, 1962, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-8 (1962) folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: AF Ofcr Promotions (Bolte), Dec 28, 1965, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 66) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, AF/CVA (Hester) to SAF/MP (Goode), subj: DOD 88-8 (Bolte), May 22, 1964, and untitled and undated summ of the Bolte bill's advantages, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-11 (1964) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1962, item 14-9, AF/HSOR K168.030164. For information on the reservations about the number of general officers, see memo, Asst DCS/O (Estes) to DCS/P (Landon), subj: Proposed Revision-Ofcr Grade Limitation Act, Jan 6, 1960, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-4 (1960) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, McNamara to the President (Johnson), Mar 4, 1965, ACC 86-155, box 6 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Bolte cmte supplementary rpt p 19; Chairman of the AF Council (Smith) to AF/CC (LeMay), subj: Review of Gen Ofcr Position Authorization, Dec 2, 1961, ACC 65A-3422, box 1, folder 4, RG 431, WNRC.

9. Talking paper, subj: AF Ofcr Promotion (Bolte), Dec 28, 1965, ACC 86-155, box 2, 82 (FY 66) folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: Status

of "Baby Bolte," undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-15 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

10. Bolte cmte rpt, pp 13-14; Bolte cmte supplementary rpt, pp 1-2 and 7-8; *AF Times*, Nov 5, 1960, p 12; briefing, subj: Bolte Program, undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-12 (1963-64) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

11. Bolte cmte supplementary rpt, pp 5-6 and 8; memo, Sec of the Army (Stahr) to McNamara, subj: study and Revision of the Ofcr Pers Act of 1947, Mar 13, 1961 and talking paper, subj: Status of "Baby Bolte," undated, both in ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-15 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

12. Talking paper for Gen Stone, subj: AF Ofcr Promotions (Bolte), Dec 28, 1965, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 66) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Ch Council of the House of Representatives Armed Service Cmte (Blandford) to Senator Barry Goldwater, Dec 7, 1965, ltr, Senator Richard Russell to Goldwater, Dec 10, 1965, and ltr, Goldwater to DCS/P (Stone), Dec 27, 1965, all in ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-14 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

13. Hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Retirement and Separations Section, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1962, p 2; George F. Lemmer, "USAF Manpower Trends, 1960-1963," USAF Hist Div Liaison Ofc, Mar 1965, p 2.

14. Statement by Gen Thomas E. Moore (D/PDP) on H.R. 7596 (1965), undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 105 (PL 89-157-1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: Extension of the 4,000 Lt Col Authority, undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 104 (PL 88-63-1964) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Apr 1, 1961, p 2 and May 27, 1961, p 1; paper prepared for Mil Pers Appropriations hearings, subj: Ofcr Temp Promotion Outlook, undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-14 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Actg SECDEF (Paul) to the Speaker of the House of Representatives (McCormack), May 10, 1966, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966) H.R. 15005 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

15. Ibid; *AF Times*, Apr 1, 1961, p 2 and May 27, 1961, p 1; statement by Col W. W. Berg before the Senate Armed Services Cmte, subj: H.R. 7809, 87th Cong, A Bill "to Improve the Active Duty Promotion Opportunities of AF Ofc's from the Grade of Maj to the Grade of Lt Col," undated, ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

16. Talking paper, subj: H.R. 7809—Proposed Increase of 4,800 Additional Lt Col Grade Vacancies, undated, ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, May 27, 1961, p 1; memo for Mr. Morris, subj: AF Grade Relief, May 5, 1966, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Actg SECAF (Garlock) to the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Rayburn), Jun 15, 1961, AF/HSOR microfilm roll 30156, frames 734-39.

17. MFR, subj: Rpt of Hearings on H.R. 7697, 87th Cong, A Bill "to Improve the Active Duty Promotion Opportunity of AF Ofc's from the Grade of Maj to the Grade of Lt Col," Jun 22, 1961 and talking paper, subj: H.R. 7809, Promotion Increase of 4,800 Additional Lt Col Grade Vacancies, undated, both in ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jul 1, 1961, p 1.

18. MFR, subj: Hearings Before the Senate Armed Services Cmte on the Amendment of OGLA, Aug 25, 1961, ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Ch Legislative Div of the Ofc of the Judge Advocate Gen (Vague) to Maj Farlow, subj: Authorization for Additional Cols and Lt Cols, Apr 1, 1965, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-14 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

19. MFR, subj: Mtg of the Full House Armed Services Cmte, Jun 18, 1963, ACC 86-155, box 9, 104 (PL 88-63—1964) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, D/PDP (Moore) to AFDPPOP, subj: Status Rpt (Proposed Amendment to Section 8202 of Title 10, US Code), Apr 21, 1964, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-11 (1964) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

20. Ltr, D/PDP (Moore) to AFDPPOP, subj: Status Rpt (Proposed Amendment

of Section 8202 of Title 10, US Code), Apr 21, 1964 and memo, Special Asst SECAF/MP&RF (Fridge) to AF/CC (Lemay), untitled, May 6, 1964, both in ACC 86-155, 93-11 (1964) folder, RG 341, WNRC; SSS with attachment, subj: Alternative Legislative Proposals, Apr 1, 1965 and ltr, Ch Legislative Div of the Judge Advocate Gen to Maj Farlow, both in ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-14 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC; tables, subj: Attrition thru Promotion Program, undated, ACC 86-154, box 9, 78-5 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

21. Chronology of events, subj: H.R. 7596, undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 105 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC; paper, subj: Input for Mil Pers Appropriations Hearings, undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-14, (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Dep Asst SECDEF (Berg) to Mr Morris, subj: AF Grade Relief, May 5, 1966, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Actg SECAF (Paul) to the Speaker of the House of Representatives (McCormick), May 10, 1966, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966)—H.R. 15005 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, May 12, 1965, p 1; AF News Service release no 5-7-65-310, undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 105 (1965) folder, tab 1, RG 341, WNRC.

22. George Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in Limited War, 1964-1967," USAF Hist Div Liaison Ofc, Nov 1968, p 38; hearing before the Cmte on the Armed Services, 89th Cong, 2nd Sess, on H.R. 420, H.R. 11488, H.R. 11979, and H.R. 15005, Sep 8, 1966, p 1, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

23. Hearings before the Cmte on Armed Services, 89th Cong, 2nd Sess, on H.R. 420, H.R. 11488, H.R. 11979, and H.R. 15005, Sep 8, 1966, p 2, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

24. *AF Times*, Nov 19, 1960, p 1, Apr 1, 1961, p 2, and Dec 29, 1962, p 1; talking paper, subj: Extension of the 4,000 Lt Col authority, undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 104 (PL 88-63—1964) folder, RG 341, WNRC; MFR, subj:

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Hearings Before the Senate Armed Services Cmte on the Amendment to OGLA, Aug 25, 1961, ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

25. *AF Times*, Jan 30, 1960, p 1, Apr 1, 1961, p 1, Nov 19, 1961, p 1, Jan 19, 1963, p 1, and Oct 21, 1964, p 1.

26. Briefing, subj: H.R. 15005 (to Amend Section 8202, Title 10, U.S.C.), undated, ACC 86-155, box 9, 106 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Nov 7, 1959, p 1 and Jan 30, 1960, p 1; talking paper for Gen Stone, subj: Proposed Legislation Based on OSD Ad Hoc Cmte to Revise OPA of 1947 (DOD 88-8), undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-8 (1962) folder, RG 341, WNRC; list of questions asked by Mr. McLaughlin, undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-8 (1962) folder, RG 341, WNRC. "Below-the-zone" was considered for the permanent promotion system as well, but subsequently rejected. See SSS, Dep D/PDP to SAF/MP, subj: Proposed Legislation to Improve the Reg Ofcr Career Structure, Feb 8, 1958, ACC 65A-3152, box 12, Feb 1-15, 1958 chronological folder, RG 341, WNRC.

27. Talking paper for Mr. Zuckert, subj: Promotion Policies, undated, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-8 (1962) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

28. Hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Promotions and Separations Div, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1963, p 4; tables, subj: Attrition thru Promotion System, undated, ACC 86-154, box 9, 78-5 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jan 30, 1960, p 1; memo, Actg Special Asst SECAF/MP&RF (Lang) to SECAF (Brown), subj: Ofcr Career Progression, Dec 29, 1965, ACC 86-155, box 6, 93-14 (1965) folder, RG 341, WNRC. Promotion percentages vary somewhat between sources.

29. Hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Promotions and Separations Div, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1960, p 8, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1962, p 8, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963, pp 9 and 11; Primary Zone Temp Maj (FY 62) Promotion summ, undated, ACC 70A-4059, box 6, Central Board Procedures (Sep 25, 1961) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, May 6,

1961, p 4; briefing notes on the HQ USAF Central Temp Col Nomination Board, Jul 8, 1963, ACC 70A-4079, box 10, Temp Col Nominations FY 64 primary zone (Jul 8, 1963) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

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56. AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, p 87; AWC hist, Jul 1, 1967 to Jun 30, 1968, table 4, p 5.

57. Promotion Board analyses: temp maj FY 1966, temp lt col FY 1966, temp col FY 1966, ACC 86-154, box 9, 79 (FY 1966 temp col, lt col, maj, and capt) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1966, table 106, p 257.

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61. Ibid; *AF Times*, Jul 15, 1961, p 21.

The newspaper article does not make it entirely clear that not all those offered a Regular billet accepted.

62. Dept of the AF, DCS/P, Dir of Pers Planning, Ten-Year Manpower Look: FY 62-FY 72, AF/HSOR K141.21-10, p 20; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1962, item 14-24.

63. *AF Times*, Dec 25, 1963, p 10 and Feb 10, 1964; Steele, "Retention—A View from the Bottom," p 61.

64. Dir of Studies and Analysis, DCS for Plans and Ops, "Ofcr Motivation Study—NEW VIEW," Nov 1966, vol I, p xxi, fig III-I, p 35, p 39, table III-2, p 40, p 43, fig III-2, p 58, and fig III-3, p 59, AUL M-42210-1E-U.

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70. Ltr, AU/CC (Miller) to DCS/P (Timberlake), undated, AF/HSOR K239.047-7.

71. USAF Educational Conference (Rawlings board), Maxwell AFB, Oct 18-19, 1956, pp 2, 56, and 90, AF/HSOR 168.7036-3; *AF Times*, Oct 6, 1956, p 1 and Jan 5, 1957, p 1.

72. Rpt of the ad hoc cmte on Research and Development (Stever rpt), Jun 1958, p 34 and figs 3 and 4, AU Education Ofc, ED 24 folder; Dir of Pers Planning Ten-Year Manpower Look, FY 62-FY 72, pp 1-13 and 1-18; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1964, item 14-6.

73. Thomas S. Torresson, Jr., "A Plan for the Educational Development of the AF Ofcr," *AU Quarterly Review*, spring 1950, p 47; memo, Dep D/PDP (Scepan-sky) to D/PMP (Greene), subj: Air Staff Action Concerning Management Survey, Aug 20, 1963, ACC 67A-2561, box 1, Mil 1-3 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *Def Dept Annual Rpt for FY 1963*, p 267; *AF Times*, Jan 19, 1963, p 1 and Jan 27, 1966, p 1; hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, Part 1, p 14; AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1960, vol I, pp 113-15, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, vol I, pp 112-18; AU plan for the development of AF professional education, 1963-1973, p 10, AF/HSOR 168.7036-28.

74. Ltr, D/PTR (McGehee) to D/PDC (Stone), subj: The George Washington—AU Joint Education Program, Oct 23, 1962, ACC 67A-4678, box 1, Mil-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1962, pp 16-17; AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963, vol I, pp 58-59 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol 1, p 122; *Def Dept Annual Rpt for FY 1963*, p 267; AWC student personal statistics, AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1967, vol III, supporting document 7. Although there is no hint in the AU history, the AU was not pleased with the AU/GWU program and for the reasons stated in this paragraph. See ltr, AU/CV (Leuhman) to D/PDC (Stone), subj: AU Evaluation of the GWU Pro-

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86. *AF Times*, Jan 9, 1960, p 1 and Jan 16, 1960, p 1; Ltr, Dep Exec to AF/CV (White) to pers concerned, subj: Ltr of Instructions (Controlled Retirement of Reserve ofcrs, Project 20-10, Central Board, FY '63-3, Maj, Capt, and Lt), Apr 9, 1962, ACC 70A-4059, box 1, Central Board 20-10 Procedures, FY 63-3 folder, RG 341, WNRC. The last cited source contains most, if not all, of the individual board summaries of Project 20-10.

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15. Memo, DCS/P (Landon) to AF/CC (LeMay), subj: Testimony Before the House Appropriations Cmte Regarding the Rated Problem, Mar 7, 1961 and memo, SECAF (Zuckert) to AF/CC (LeMay), May 25, 1961, both in ACC 69A-

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16. Ltr, Dep SECDEF (Gilpatric) to the Dir of the Bureau of the Budget (Bell), Apr 4, 1961, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 14-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, DCS/P (Landon) to AF/CC (LeMay), subj: Testimony Before the House Appropriations Cmte Regarding the Rated Problem, Mar 7, 1961, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 12-6.2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; position paper, subj: Flight Pay Accrual, undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 12-6.5c folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Apr 1, 1961, p 1; hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, pp 18-19.

17. *AF Times*, May 15, 1963, p 1 and Apr 21, 1965, p 3; ltr, AF/CC (LeMay) to ALMAJCOM, subj: Rated Ofcr Management Program, May 6, 1963, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 12-6.1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

18. *AF Times*, Sep 3, 1960, p 9 and Apr 1, 1961, p 44.

19. *AF Times*, Apr 1, 1961, p 44 and Jan 29, 1964, p 13.

20. *AF Times*, Dec 15, 1960, p 3 and May 15, 1961, p 8; witness statement, Gen Thomas D. White (draft), undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 1, Mil 12-6.5a folder, RG 341, WNRC.

21. *AF Times*, Jul 15, 1964, p 1 and Apr 21, 1965, p 3; proposed AF ltr 60-4 (draft), undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 12-6.1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

22. Ltr, DCS/P (Landon) to AF/CC (LeMay), subj: Testimony Before the House Appropriations Cmte Regarding the Rated Problem, Mar 7, 1961, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 12-6.2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1960, table 18, p 81; *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1965, table 42, p 76.

23. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1960, vol I, pp 115-16 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1961, vol I, p 115; statement by Maj Gen Thomas E. Moore to the Appropriations Cmte of the House of Representatives, subj: Mil

Pers Appropriations for FY 1966, undated, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Warren E. Trest and Jay E. Hines, "ATC's Support of Forces in SEA, 1961-1973" (Randolph AFB: ATC Hist and Research Div, Jan 1978), pp 79-80.

24. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, vol I, p 121; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1962, vol I, p 109; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1965, vol I, p 199. Many of the insights offered into navigator training are based on the author's experiences as a UNT student (1960-61) and UNT instructor (1967-71).

25. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1961, vol I, p 118.

26. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1965, vol I, pp 193-94.

27. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, vol I, p 199.

28. Statement by Maj Gen Thomas E. Moore to the Appropriations Cmte of the House of Representatives, subj: Mil Pers Appropriations for FY 1966, undated, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1960, table 132, p 223 and *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1965, table 106, p 206; table, Projected AF Rated Requirements, Inventory, and Training Rate by FY, undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 1, Mil 12-6.5c folder, RG 341, WNRC.

29. Paper, subj: Pilot Training Rate, undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 14-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Lemmer, "USAF Manpower Trends," p 31; *DOD Annual Rpt for FY 1964*, p 302; ltr, AF/CC (Lemay) to ALMAJCOM, subj: Rated Ofcr Management Program, May 6, 1963, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 12-6.1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

30. *AF Times*, Jan 29, 1964, p 13; hist, Ofcr Assignments Div, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, p 10; *DOD Annual Rpt for FY 1964*, p 302.

31. Paper, Pilot Training Rate, undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 14-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support in SEA," 55-56; Lemmer, "USAF Manpower Trends," p 31.

32. Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support in SEA," pp 56-57.

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33. Lemmer, "USAF Manpower Trends," p 31; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963, vol I, pp 159-60; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, vol I, p 163.
34. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1960, vol I, p 93.
35. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1960, vol I, pp 100-101; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, vol I, p 122.
36. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, vol I, p 121; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, vol I, p 101. By late 1963, student pilots were once again practicing spin recovery techniques in the T-37. See ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1963, vol I, p 125.
37. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, vol I, p 100; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963, vol I, pp 86-87; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, p 124.
38. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963, vol I, pp 159-60; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, p 126; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1965, vol I, p 188.
39. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, pp 127-28.
40. Ibid.
41. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, pp 128-29; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, vol I, p 162; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1965, vol I, pp 189-90.
42. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, pp 129-30; Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, vol I, pp 194-95.
43. Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support in SEA," p 58. The source lists flight training areas in square miles. Adding to that a vertical component of perhaps 30,000 feet yielded the dimensions noted in the text.
44. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, p 128; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, vol I, pp 163-64; Lemmer, "USAF Manpower Trends."
45. Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support in SEA," pp 60-61; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1965, vol I, p 187.
46. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, vol I, p 195; Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support in SEA," pp 62-63.
47. USAF Management Survey, Pers, Apr 19, 1967, p Per 8.
48. Position paper, subj: AF Academy, undated, ACC 69A-2312, box 3, Mil 14-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; rpt of the administrative and legislative accomplishments of the Dept of the AF, Dec 1963-Sep 21, 1965, undated, AF/HSOR K110.8-48.
49. John P. Lovell, *Neither Athens nor Sparta? The American Service Academies in Transition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), pp 68-71.
50. Vance O. Mitchell, "A Brief Hist of the West Point and AF Academy Honor Codes," Nov 13, 1984, AF/HSOR, pp 18 and 31; rpt to the Sec and CSAF by the Special Advisory cmte on the USAF Academy (White cmte), May 5, 1965, AF/HSOR K168.041-22, pp 26 and 28.
51. Mitchell, "Brief Hist of Academy Honor Codes," pp 15-16.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid, pp 15-17; hist of the AF Academy, Jul 1, 1962 to Jun 30, 1963, p 490.
54. Mitchell, "Brief Hist of Academy Honor Codes," p 16; Lovell, *Neither Athens nor Sparta*, p 83.
55. Mitchell, "Brief Hist of Academy Honor Codes," pp 18-19; Lovell, *Neither Athens nor Sparta*, p 67.
56. Mitchell, "Brief Hist of Academy Honor Codes," p 17.
57. White rpt, pp 50-51.
58. Mitchell, "Brief Hist of Academy Honor Codes," p 19.
59. For the older social base of the military academies, see Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, table 9, p 86, table 12, p 89, and table 18, p 98 and Richard C. Brown, *Social Attitudes of American Generals, 1898-1940* (New York: Arno Press, 1979), p 15. For the more modern academy demographics, see Moskos, *Public Opinion and the Military Establishment*.
60. Those interested in the subsequent problems with honor codes and cheating at the USAFA and West Point should consult the rpt to the CSAF by the USAFA Superintendent (Moorman rpt), Apr 18, 1967; rpt of superintendent's special study group on honor at West Point (Borman rpt), Dec 15, 1976; final rpt of the West Point study group, Jul 27, 1977; final rpt of the USAF Academy

superintendent's honor review cmte (Rokke rpt), Jan 1, 1978; William L. Zint Jr., "AF Academy Cheating Incidents, 1965 and 1967: A Composite Study in Public Relations" (masters thesis, University of Denver, 1969); Alonzo J. Walter Jr., "AF Academy Cheating Incidents, 1965 and 1967" (Maxwell AFB: AWC, Jul 1966). For a look at military academies in the throes of change, the previously cited work by John Lovell, as well as Joseph J. Ellis and Robert Moore, *School for Soldiers: West Point and the Profession of Arms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) should provide useful insights.

61. *AF Times*, Dec 10, 1960, p 1 and Dec 31, 1960, p 14; ltr, AF/CV (LeMay) to AF/CC (White), subj: Proposed Revision in AFROTC Program, Nov 15, 1960, White papers, box 36, folder 2 (AF Council), LOC; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, p 44; "Hist of the AFROTC," AUOI-H study no 11, undated, p 31, AF/HSOR K239.044-11; AU hist study no 11, undated, p 31, AF/HSOR 239.044-11.

62. *AF Times*, Dec 31, 1960, p 14; staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, p 42; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, vol I, pp, 173-74; and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, vol I, p 66.

63. *AF Times*, Dec 10, 1960, p 1; staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1963, p 41; ltr, Lemay to White, subj: Proposed Revision of AFROTC Program, Nov 15, 1960, ACC 64A-2363, box 1, Air Council folder, RG 341, WNRC; "Hist of the AFROTC," pp 29-31.

64. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, p 41; "Hist of the AFROTC," p 11.

65. "Hist of the AFROTC," pp 17-18; AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, vol I, p 206; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1965, item 14-5, AF/HSOR K168.030165.

66. Memo, AF/CVA (Montgomery) to DCS/P (Landon), subj: AFROTC Program, Nov 22, 1960, ACC 64A-2363, box 1, folder 1 (AF Council), RG 341,

WNRC; AU plan for the development of AF professional education, 1963-1973, Mar 1963, p 42, AF/HSOR K239.047-4.

67. Ltr, LeMay to White, subj: Proposed Revision in AFROTC Program, Nov 15, 1960, ACC 64A-2363, box 1, folder 2 (AF Council), RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Dec 31, 1960, p 14.

68. *AF Times*, Dec 10, 1960, p 1, Dec 31, 1960, p 14, and May 15, 1963, p 16; "Hist of the AFROTC," pp 22-23; "AFROTC College Scholarship Program, 1965-1970," AUOI-H study no 37, undated, pp 1-6, AF/HSOR K239.044-37.

69. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, p 12; *AF Times*, Jan 12, 1963, p 6, May 15, 1963, p 16, and Jun 26, 1963, p 10; AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, vol I, p 302 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, p 130.

70. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1963; hearings before the Cmte on Armed Services of the House of Representatives on Sundry Legislation Effecting the Naval and Mil Establishment, 1963, pp 6511-20.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Chief of Staff's policy book for 1964, item 14-5; AU hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, p 130; Chief of Staff's policy book for 1965, item 14-5; staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1965, pp 18-19.

73. Hearing before the Cmte on Armed Services, US Senate, 88th Cong, 2d Sess, on H.R. 9124: Rpt on Administrative and Legislative Accomplishments of the Dept of the AF, Dec 1963-Sep 21, 1965, p 1, AF/HSOR K110.8-48; *AF Times*, Nov 18, 1964, p 1.

74. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1965, p 34 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, p 42; *AF Times*, Dec 30, 1964, p 11.

75. Dept of the AF, DCS/P, Dir of Pers Planning, Ten-Year Manpower Outlook, FY 62-FY 72, undated, p 3-3, AF/HSOR K141.21-10; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1972, p 14; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1960, vol I, p 90.

76. *AF Times*, May 8, 1963, p 10;

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statement by Maj Gen Thomas E. Moore (D/PDP) to the House Appropriations Cmte on Budget Estimates for FY 1966, undated, ACC 86-153, box 2, folder 82 (FY 66), RG 341, WNRC: ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, vol I, p 117; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, p 43.

77. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1961, vol I, pp 71 and 91-92; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Education, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1961, p 41 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, p 43.

78. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1962, p 53; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, pp 68 and 79 and Jan 1-Jun 31, 1962, p 81.

79. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1961, vol I, pp 99-100.

80. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963, vol I, p 95; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1962, pp 41-42 and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1962, pp 51-52.

81. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 31, 1960, vol I, pp 75-76, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1960, vol I, p 119, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, pp 120-21. The insights into life as an OTS trainee are based on the author's experience in that program (Class 61-B, graduated Sep 20, 1960).

82. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1963, vol I, p 91.

83. Ibid, pp 75, 79, and 91-92; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, vol I, p 86, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1964, vol I, pp 125, 150-51, and 153-54, and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1965, vol I, p 136; *AF Times*, Dec 28, 1964, p 4 and Jan 20, 1965, p 1.

84. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1965, vol I, pp 109-11 and 151-54.

85. Ibid, pp 155-56.

86. Staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1959, p 34; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1959, p 2; *AF Times*, Nov 21, 1959, p 6.

87. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1963, p 56 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1963, pp 12 and 52; hist, Dir of Mil pers, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1963, vol II, p 3; *AF Times*, Nov 11, 1961, p 55 and Jul 3, 1963, p 5.

88. Staff hist, Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1960, p 33; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1960, vol I, pp 83-84.

89. Maurice G. Stack, "The Aviation Cadet Program in Retrospect," *AU Review*, vol XVI, no 5, (Jul-Aug 1965), p 89; *AF Times*, Jun 10, 1964, p 10 and Jan 27, 1965, p 1; staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1964, p 8; staff hist, Dir of Pers Procurement and Training, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1960, p 34.

Chapter Ten

1. Robert F. Futrell, *The USAF in Southeast Asia: The Advisory Years to 1965* (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1981), pp 35-39; staff hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1958, p 35.

2. Futrell, *Advisory Years*, p 39; supplement to the AF Policy ltr for Commanders no 135, Jun 1964, p 2; Jacob Van Staaveren, "Entry of First Fighter Squadron into Vietnam: Chronology," undated, AFHSOR 110.8-106, p 1.

3. Van Staaveren, "Entry of First Fighter Squadron into Vietnam," p 2; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1961*, table 112, p 226 and *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1965*, table 96, p 187.

4. Hist, Dir of Mil Pers, Jan 1-Jun 30,

1964, p 50; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1965*, table 96, p 187; *AF Times*, Apr 1, 1964, p 1, Feb 17, 1965, p 10, and Mar 3, 1965, p 5; Van Staaveren, "Entry of First Fighter Squadron into Vietnam," p 2; Daily Staff Digest, Feb 26, 1965, p 3 and Sep 1, 1965, item 13, and Oct 20, 1965, p 13.

5. *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1967*, table 93, p 246; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1969*, table 79, p 230, and *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1973*, table 43, p 108. The estimate of the number stationed outside SEA but in support of the war was made by comparing strengths just prior to the massive American involvement and in 1969 and by assuming that the bulk of the

increase went into the war effort.

6. Lemmer, "USAF Manpower In limited War," p 28; Daily Staff Digest, Feb 10, 1966, item 1 and Mar 11, 1969, item 10; *AF Times*, Nov 25, 1965, p 1 and Jul 3, 1968, p 1. The figure of 10,000 officers to be replaced annually is based on the presence of 9,400 officers in SEA in 1970 after the manpower demand had passed its numerical peak in 1968 or 1969. See Dept of the AF hist summ, Jul 1, 1969-Jun 30, 1970, p 54.

7. Draft paper, title: What Were the Constraints, undated, ACC 86-155, box 11, 134-8 folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper on current recall program, May 19, 1967, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 67-2 (1967 Jan-May) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jul 21, 1965, p 1 and Jun 14, 1967, p 3. Shortly after the beginning of the massive American involvement in mid-1965, President Johnson's policy enjoyed a 56-percent approval rate, but that was hedged by opposition to escalation and beliefs that the South Vietnamese bore the ultimate responsibility for their own safety and that the United Nations should take on a large role in restoring peace. By Nov 1967, more people (48 percent) believed American involvement was a mistake than those (46 percent) who did not. See *The Gallup Poll*, vol III, survey 716-K, question 7, p 1962, survey 721-K, question 3, p 1982, survey 727-K, questions 17 and 18, p 2007, survey 752, question 3, p 2087.

8. Draft paper, subj: ANG/Reserve Release Questions and Answers, Sep 20, 1968, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 69-3 (Publicity) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Feb 7, 1968, p 1, Apr 24, 1968, p 1, Jun 5, 1968, p 1, Jul 31, 1968, p 1, and Jan 22, 1969, p 1; Gross, *Prelude to the Total Force*, pp 156-60.

9. Daily Staff Digest, Mar 11, 1969; item 10, Jun 11, 1971, item 4; and May 24, 1972, p 1. The last cited source anticipated that about 120 pilots would be sent to SEA for an involuntary second tour as staff officers. None were slated for a return to combat flying.

10. Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in

Limited War," pp 41-42; tables, subj: Rated Ofcr Losses (Lt Col and Below), FY 1969 Actual and FY 1970 Program, undated, ACC 80-155, box 1, 82 (FY 72 file 3) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, Asst DCS/AFPMM to DCS/P (Wade), subj: Status Rpt on Voluntary Separations, Apr 27, 1967 and ltr, DCS/AFPMM to Wade, subj: Resignation of Reg Ofcrs, undated, both in ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 67-2 (1967 Jan-May) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Mar 23, 1966, p 3, Dec 21, 1966, p 1, May 17, 1967, p 1, Mar 20, 1968, p 1, May 22, 1968, p 1, and Apr 8, 1970, p 17. Paying a bonus to pilots for serving beyond their initial commitments was studied, but apparently never considered seriously. See *AF Times*, Apr 26, 1967, p 1.

11. Ltr, Actg Counsel Gen (Bartino) to Dep SECDEF (Vance), subj: Involuntary Retention on Active Duty, Feb 10, 1966, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 67-1 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC; ltr, DCS/P to AFPDPOP, subj: Commander's Conference Action items (AFPDC Ltr, 15 Feb 1966), undated and memo, Dep SECDEF (Vance) to the three service secs, subj: Involuntary Retention on Active Duty, Feb 12, 1966, both in ACC 75-155, box 2, 36D-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Aug 18, 1965, p 1 and Feb 23, 1966, p 1; Daily Staff Digest, Dec 8, 1964, item 2.

12. Memo, Dir of the SAF Pers Council (Henry) to the Dep Under Sec for Manpower (FERRARO), subj: Ofcr Stop-Loss Actions, Dec 21, 1966, ltr, Congressman L. Mendell Rivers to SECDEF (McNamara), Jan 12, 1967, and memo, Vance to the Secretaries of the Mil Depts, subj: Involuntary Retention of Reserve Ofcrs on Active Duty, Jan 18, 1967, all in ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 67-2 (Jan-May 1967) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

13. Resume of fundamental positions (draft), May 3, 1966, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 67-1 (1966) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

14. Ibid; memo, D/PDP (Bell) to DCS/P (Wade), subj: Involuntary Retention on Active Duty, Jan 15, 1968, ACC

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75-155, box 6, FY 69-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

15. Ltr, USAFMPC/AFPMM to DCS/P (Wade), subj: Resignation of Reg Ofcrs, undated, talking paper for Gen Wade on Stop-Loss Actions, undated, and memo, Dep Under SECDEF for Manpower (Ferraro) to Asst SECDEF for Manpower, May 31, 1967, all in ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 67-2 (1967 Jan-May) folder, RG 341, WNRC; MFR, subj: Policy Revision—Selective Retention of Reg Ofcrs, Jun 15, 1967 and fact sheet on Selective Retention of Reg AF Ofcrs, undated, both in ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 1967-3 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Project Corona Harvest Maj Policy or Action: Selective Retention of Reg Ofcrs, undated, ACC 86-154, box 1, 25-53 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jun 7, 1967, p 1.

16. *AF Times*, Apr 6, 1966, p 1; ltr, D/PDP (Bell) to DCS/P (Wade), subj: Selective Voluntary Extension of Reserve Ofcrs, Nov 4, 1966, ACC 75-155, box 4, 52H-5 (1966), RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: Selective Voluntary Extension of Reserve Ofcrs, Continuation, and Temp Promotion, Nov 18, 1966 and ltr, Wade to ALMAJCOM, subj: Selective Voluntary Extension of Reserve Ofcrs, Nov 18, 1966 and message, Ch Public Information Div to ALMAJCOM, Nov 21, 1966, both in ACC 75-155, box 3, 41A-2-2 (1966-1968) folder, RG 341, WNRC; paper, subj: Commissioned Ofcr Accessions and SEA Contingency Actions, Jul 28, 1967, ACC 86-154, box 1, 25-53-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Daily Staff Digest, Nov 20, 1967, item 5.

17. Ltr, DCS/P (Wade) to AFPMC, subj: Continuation Program, Nov 7, 1966, paper, subj: Impact of Continuation Program (FY 1967), undated, and Special Interest Item for AFPMC and AFPDC, subj: FY 1967 Continuation of Capts Program, Feb 6, 1967, all in ACC 86-154, box 1, 25-53 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jul 20, 1966, p 1 and Jan 4, 1967, p 2; Daily Staff Digest, Feb 14, 1967, item 1.

18. Ltr, AF/CC (McConnell) to

SECAF (Brown), subj: Continued Active Duty for Selected Twice-Deferred Reg AF Capts, Apr 27, 1967, ACC 86-154, box 1, 25-53-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Feb 22, 1967, p 5 and May 17, 1967, p 1; ltr, D/PDP (Bell) to DCS/P (Wade), subj: Continuation of Reg AF Capts, Sep 27, 1967, ACC 75-155, box 3, 41A-2-2 (1966-1968), RG 341, WNRC; memo, subj: Implementation of the Selective Retention of Reg Ofcrs Program, undated, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 69-2 (Stop-Loss) folder, RG 341, WNRC; tables, subj: Continuation on Active Duty of Reg Capts Twice Failed of Selection for Reg Maj, FY 68, undated, ACC 86-154, box 12, 79 (CY 78 Perm Lt Col—REG AF) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Project Corona Harvest Maj Policy or Action, subj: Pers Plans, undated, ACC 86-155, box 11, 134-8 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

19. Paper, subj: Impact of Continuation Program (FY 1967), undated, ACC 86-154, box 1, 25-53 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jan 17, 1968, p 1 and Feb 21, 1968, p 3.

20. AF Council guidance memo 6/26, subj: FY 1965 Rated Ofcr Management Program, Mar 9, 1964, ACC 68A-5346, box 1, folder 2, RG 341, WNRC; Daily Staff Digest, Mar 30, 1964, item 1.

21. See note above; set of tables, undated, found in ACC 86-154, box 1, 82 (FY 72 file 3) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Dept of the AF hist summ, Jul 1, 1969 to Jun 30, 1970, p 54; *AF Times*, Sep 1, 1965, p 1, Apr 27, 1966, p 3, May 11, 1966, p 13, Jul 20, 1966, p 3, Nov 9, 1966, p 1, and Dec 14, 1966, p 1. The figure of 5,200 returned to flying may well be an understatement due to the heterogenous nature of much of the data. For example, one set of statistics listed 2,640 pilots recalled to flying in 1966 alone. See paper, subj: Effect of Pers Management Actions on Pilot Availability, Jan 30, 1967, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 67-2 (Jan-May 1967) folder, RG 341, WNRC; briefing Highlights, undated, ACC 73A-2171, box 1, folder 8, RG 341, WNRC; summ of Air Staff

board mtg 68-16, Mar 25, 1968, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1968 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

22. AU hist, Jul 1, 1967-Jun 30, 1968, vol I, pp 21 and 29-37 and Jul 1, 1968-Jun 30, 1969, vol I, pp 33, 36, and 38 and vol II, p 22; *AF Times*, Dec 7, 1966, p 5, Jul 5, 1967, p 7, and Sep 9, 1970, p 1; Daily Staff Digest, Oct 31, 1966, item 1 and Jun 2, 1967, item 3.

23. Daily Staff Digest, Dec 18, 1968, item 3; *AF Times*, Feb 2, 1966, p 1, Oct 16, 1966, p 1, Dec 7, 1966, p 4, Dec 13, 1967, p 1, and Jul 3, 1968, p 1.

24. Set of tables, undated, ACC 86-154, box 1, 82 (FY 72 file 3) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Aug 16, 1967, p 1; Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in Limited War," pp 28-29; Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support of Forces in SEA," pp 69-70.

25. FY 1971 position paper, subj: Input paper on Palace Alert, undated, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 72 file 1) folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Aug 16, 1967, p 6 and Jun 26, 1969, p 39; Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in Limited War," p 28.

26. ATC hist FY 1970, vol I, pp 215-26; FY 1971, vol I, pp 176-85 and FY 1972, vol I, pp 207-14; Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support of Forces in SEA," p 70, *AF Times*, Jul 31, 1968, p 5.

27. Air Staff board Mtg 67-68, subj: Increased Utilization of New UPT Graduates to SEA/PACAF, Dec 20, 1967, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1967 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Air Staff board mtg 68-16, subj: Pilot Utilization, Mar 25, 1968, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1968 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Air Staff board mtg 69-54, subj: Pilot Shortage Problem, Nov 5, 1969, ACC 74-0022, box 4, RG 341, WNRC; ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1967, vol I, pp 194-95.

28. Memo for the Special Asst to the Comptroller, OSD, subj: Numbers of AF Ofcr Pers, Jun 14, 1967, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 1967-3 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, May 25, 1967, p 5.

29. Terry S. Thompson, "The F-4 Weapons Systems Ofcr—Past, Present, and Future," ACSA study 87-2500, May

1987, pp 1-10; ltr, Exec Sec of the Rated Requirements and Allocations Cmte (RPAC) (Schmidt) to members of the RPAC, subj: Rpt of RPRAC Mtg 70-1, Feb 12, 1970, ACC 74-0022, box 2, RPRAC rpts (70) folder, RG 341, WNRC. The fig of 2,000 pilots saved is based on the 1,290 F-4s and F-111s in the inventory in 1972 and a hypothetical crew ratio of 1.75 per aircraft. See *AF Statistical Digest*, FY 1972, table 33, p 154.

30. Daily Staff Digest, Dec 27, 1968, item 5; *AF Times*, Jun 5, 1968, p 3, Jul 17, 1968, p 1, and Sep 4, 1968, p 3; staff study, subj: Position on Reimplementation of the Continuation Program in Connection with the Pilot "Crunch," undated, and fact sheet, subj: Continuation of Cpts Who Have Twice Failed to the Temp Grade of Maj, May 2, 1969, both in ACC 75-155, box 3, 41A-2-3 (1969) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

31. Daily Staff Digest, Oct 3, 1969, item 3; *AF Times*, Jul 3, 1968, p 2, Oct 30, 1968, p 1, Sep 3, 1969, p 1, and Sep 10, 1969, p 1; message, AFMPC to multiple addressees, subj: Selective Voluntary Extension of Reserve Ofcrs, Nov 6, 1968, ACC 75-155, box 4, 52H-7 (1968) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

32. Daily Staff Digest, Oct 3, 1969, item 3; *AF Times*, Sep 3, 1969, p 4, Oct 1, 1969, p 1, and Mar 11, 1970, p 3; ltr, John H. Gulliett to SECAF (Brown), Feb 5, 1969, ACC 75-155, box 3, 41A-2-3 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

33. Daily Staff Digest, Dec 14, 1971, item 4; *AF Times*, Oct 21, 1970, p 1, Dec 21, 1971, p 1, Feb 9, 1972, p 1, Mar 1, 1972, p 4, and Mar 22, 1972, p 1.

34. Daily Staff Digest, Mar 29, 1972, item 6 and Oct 4, 1972, item 1; *AF Times*, Jan 7, 1970, p 1, Sep 9, 1970, p 1, Mar 3, 1971, p 4, and Sep 22, 1972, p 3.

35. Air Staff board mtg 67-26, subj: Pilot Requirements Study (Phase III), May 17, 1967, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1967 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Air Staff board mtg 68-16, subj: Pilot Utilization, Mar 25, 1968, ASB 1968 folder, RG 341, WNRC; USAF management

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summs, Pers, Apr 19, 1967, p 8 and Jun 3, 1970, p 1-10; *AF Times*, Sep 27, 1967, p 1.

36. Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine*, pp 337-52; Coffey, *Iron Eagle*, pp 360-40; Paul R. Schratz, ed., *The Evolution of the American Military Establishment Since World War II* (Lexington, Virginia: George C. Marshall Foundation, 1978), pp 65-67; Henry L. Trehwitt, *McNamara: His Ordeal in the Pentagon* (New York: Harper and Row), p 173. The last source also provides a cursory, but adequate, look at McNamara the man.

37. Those interested in additional information on the F-111/TFX affair might wish to consult Robert J. Art, *The TFX Decision, McNamara and the Military* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968) and Ford Dixon, "McNamara, Gen Dynamics, and the F-111: A Business and Political Hist" (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1972).

38. Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in Limited War," pp 29-30.

39. USAF management summ, Pers, Mar 16, 1965, p 11.

40. Air Staff board mtg 67-26, subj: Pilot Requirements Study (Phase III), May 17, 1967, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1967 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Air Staff board mtg 68-16, subj: Pilot Utilization, Mar 25, 1968, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1968 folder, RG 341, WNRC; Lemmer, "USAF in Limited War," p 29; Thompson, "The F-4 Weapon Systems Ofcr," pp 6-7.

41. Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in Limited War," pp 40-41; Air Staff board mtg 67-26, subj: Pilot Requirements Study (Phase III), May 17, 1967, ACC 74-0022, box 4, ASB 1967 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, May 3, 1967, p 1.

42. Memo for the Special Asst to the Comptroller, OSAF, subj: Numbers of AF pers, Jun 14, 1967, ACC 75-155, box 6, FY 1967-3 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Mar 7, 1967, pp 3 and 10. The bomb shortage was officially acknowledged only in Nov 1970, long after the production and transportation bottlenecks

involved had been opened. See *AF Times*, Nov 11, 1970, p 10.

43. Lemmer, "USAF Manpower in Limited War," p 31; *AF Times*, Sep 27, 1967, p 1.

44. *AF Times*, Feb 14, 1968, p 3.

45. Memo, Exec Sec of the AF Council (McCuskey) to AF/CVSC, subj: Pilot Shortage Problem, Nov 10, 1969, ACC 73A-2171, box 1, folder 8, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Dec 17, 1969, p 9.

46. Daily Staff Digest, Jul 18, 1966, item 4; *AF Times*, Jul 6, 1966, p 2 and Sep 21, 1966, p 5; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, vol I, pp 171-72, 174-75, and 233 and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1966, vol I, pp 212-13 and 216.

47. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1966, vol I, p 218.

48. *Ibid*, pp 219-20.

49. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1966, vol I, p 225; Trest and Hines, "ATC's Support of Forces in SEA," p 29.

50. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1966, vol I, pp 220 and 225, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1967, vol I, pp 171-74, and Jul 1-Dec 31, 1967, vol I, pp 170-72.

51. ATC hist, FY 1970, vol I, pp 162-63, 181, and 193.

52. Daily Staff Digest, Aug 5, 1966, item 11 and Feb 23, 1968, item 2; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, pp 119 and 121 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1968, vol I, p 156.

53. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1966, pp 240-41.

54. *Ibid*, pp 241-42.

55. *Ibid*, pp 187-88.

56. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1967, vol I, pp 183-85 and FY 1972, vol I, p 186.

57. ATC hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1967, vol I, p 185 and FY 1970, vol I, pp 193-94.

58. ATC hist, FY 1971, vol I, pp 191-94 and FY 1972, vol I, pp 186-88.

59. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1968, supporting document III-66, tab B.

60. USAF management summ, Pers, Sep 20, 1966, p 5; ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1968, supporting document III-67, pp 6-7.

61. USAF management summ, Pers, Sep 20, 1966, p 5; ATC hist, FY 1971, vol I, p 185. In FY 1968, the USAFA

converted all flight training to a Pilot Indoctrination Program (PIP) that closely paralleled the FIP given to AFROTC students. Training was conducted at Pine Valley Air Field, a small airstrip at the academy site and at two nearby military airfields. The initial monetary outlay of \$807,000 to support the PIP included the purchase of 45 T-41s, the same aircraft used in the primary phase of pilot training. See Daily Staff Digest, Jan 9, 1967, item 10.

62. ATC hist, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1968, vol I, pp 193-94.

63. Ibid, supporting document III-66, pp 11-12 and 16-17.

64. ATC hist, FY 1972, vol I, pp 202-3.

65. Ibid, pp 203-7; Daily Staff Digest, Oct 4, 1972, item 1.

66. AU hist, Jul 1, 1966-Jun 30, 1967, vol I, pp 69-70 and Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, vol I, p 96; staff hist, Dir of Pers and Training, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1965, p 58; USAF management summ, Oct 15, 1965, p 3.

67. AU hist, Jul 1, 1966-Jun 30, 1967, vol I, pp 70-71.

68. "A Study Leading to the Development of a Long Range AFROTC Program," AU, 1968, pp 99 and 103, ED 88 folder, AU Education Ofc; AU hist, Jul 1, 1966-Jun 30, 1967, vol I, pp 69-70 and Jul 1, 1968-Jun 30, 1969, supporting document 12; Daily Staff Digest, Mar 22, 1966, item 5.

69. AU hist, Jul 1, 1967-Jun 30, 1968, vol I, p 50.

70. AU hist, Jul 1, 1968-Jun 30, 1969, supporting document 14.

71. Ibid, vol I, pp 81-82 and supporting document 42.

72. Ibid, pp 116-17 and supporting document 40; Daily Staff Digest, Jul 14, 1969, item 2, *AF Times*, Feb 19, 1969, p 1 and Apr 8, 1969, p 10.

73. *AF Times*, Feb 19, 1969, p 1, Mar 12, 1969, p 6, Apr 8, 1969, p 10, Apr 16, 1969, p 1.

74. *AF Times*, Mar 19, 1969, p 13.

75. Ibid.

76. AU hist, FY 1972, vol I, p 22.

77. "Rpt of the Special Cmte on

ROTC to the SECDEF," Sep 22, 1969, p 48, AU Education Ofc file ED 93; *AF Times*, May 14, 1969, p 5, Sep 17, 1969, p 19, and Sep 23, 1970, p 23.

78. Daily Staff Digest, Dec 18, 1970, item 5; AU hist, Jul 1, 1969-Jun 30, 1970, vol I, pp 53-60 and Jul 1, 1970, Jun 30, 1971, vol I, p 60. For example, Harvard, Brown, and Princeton averaged only seven AFROTC graduates in the first half of the 1960s and would likely have had their units disestablished even if an agreement on the status of the program had been reached. See USAF management summ, Pers, Oct 15, 1965, p 6.

79. Staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, p 41; AU hist, FY 1969, vol I, p 74 and Jul 1, 1969-Jun 30, 1970, vol I, p 61; Daily Staff Digest, Jun 21, 1967, item 2; William Joseph Vollmar, "The Issue of Compulsory Mil Training at the Ohio State University, 1913-1973," (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1976) p 379.

80. AU hist, FY 1970, vol I, pp 62-65, Jul 1, 1970-Jun 30, 1971, vol I, p 65, and FY 1972, vol I, pp 39-40.

81. Daily Staff Digest, Feb 7, 1966, item 1 and Jun 20, 1968, item 7; staff hist, Dir of Pers Training and Education, Jan 1-Jun 30, 1966, p 42; AU hist, FY 1969, vol I, pp 76-77, FY 1971, vol I, pp 67-68, and FY 1972, vol I, pp 41-42.

82. Lawrence J. Korb, ed., *The System for Educating Military Officers in the U. S.*, International Studies paper no 9 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1976), p 71; AU hist, FY 1972, vol I, p 36.

83. "Proposed Ofcr Management System," OASD, Manpower and Reserve Affairs, Dec 1970, p 1-1 and annex C, ACC 86-155 box 8, 10D-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Jul 27, 1966, p 1.

84. "Proposed Ofcr Management System" (draft), Dec 1970, pp II-II and VI-I, ACC 86-155, box 8, 10D-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC; briefing, subj: The Def Ofcr Management System (DOMS), Mar 29, 1972, pp 7-8, ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

85. Talking paper, subj: Def Ofcr

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Management System (DOMS), undated, ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Feb 10, 1971, p 3 and Jan 20, 1971, p 1; memo, Actg Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (Goode), to Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (Kelley), subj: Proposed Ofcr Management System, Apr 14, 1970, ACC 86-156, box 11, 135-8 folder, RG 341, WNRC; "Proposed Ofcr Management System" (draft), Dec 1970, p V-3, ACC 86-155, box 3, 10D-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

86. "Proposed Ofcr Management System," (draft), Dec 1970, pp 1-1 to 1-5, ACC 86-155, box 8, 10D-1 folder, RG 341 WNRC; briefing, subj: The Def Ofcr Management System (DOMS), Mar 29, 1972, p 7, ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

87. Talking paper, subj: Def Ofcr Management Systems (DOMS), undated and briefing, same subject, Mar 29, 1972, pp 11-13, ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo for the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (Kelley), subj: Proposed Ofcr Management System (DOMS), undated, ACC 86-155, box 4, 92-4-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Actg Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (Goode) to Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (Kelley), subj: Proposed Ofcr Management System, Apr 14, 1970 and memo for the Asst SECDEF for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, Feb 22, 1971, ACC 86-156, box 3, 135-8 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

88. Talking paper, subj: Ofcr Grade Legislation, undated, ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 folder, RG 243, WNRC; briefing, subj: AF Ofcr Grade Legislation, 1972, undated, pp 10-12, ACC 86-155, box 2, 92-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; draft paper, subj: Ofcr Promotions, undated, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 72, folder 3) folder, RG 341, WNRC; SSS, D/PDP (Roberts) to AF/CC (Ryan), subj: Ofcr Grade Legislation, Mar 9, 1972, ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 (OGLA) folder, RG

341, WNRC.

89. Ltr, Dir OMB (Weinberger) to SECDEF (Laird) Feb 28, 1972 and SSS, D/PDP (Roberts) to AF/CC (Ryan), subj: Ofcr Grade Legislation, Mar 2, 1972, ACC 86-155, box 3, 92-4 (1972 OGLA) folder, RG 341, WNRC.

90. Paper, subj: Ofcr Promotions, undated, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 71 file 3) folder, RG 341, WNRC; insert for the rcrd, subj: Ofcr Grade Legislation, Mar 2, 1972, ACC 86-153, box 2, 82 (FY 73 file 1) folder, RG 341, WNRC; talking paper, subj: AF/Army Ofcr Grade Legislation—Issues with OSD, undated, ACC 86-155, box 8, 94-2 (1971) folder, RG 341, WNRC; statement by Maj Gen John W. Roberts (D/PDP) before the House Subcmte no 2, Cmte on Armed Services, undated, ACC 86-155, box 7, 94 (1966-71) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Congressional Hearing Resume, subj: Extension of AF Ofcr Grade Legislation, May 18, 1972, ACC 86-155, box 8, 94-5 (1972) folder RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Oct 27, 1971, p 3.

91. The USAF Pers Plan, vol I, Pers Management Objectives, Sep 25, 1978, p 1-1.

92. The USAF Pers Plan, vol II, Ofcr Structure TOPLINE, Sep 25, 1978, pp 1-1 to 1-3, 2-1, and 3-1.

93. Briefing, subj: vol II, USAF Pers Plan TOPLINE 81, (1971 Update), undated, pp 12-13, ACC 86-154, box 1, 24-2 file, RG 341, WNRC; the USAF Pers Plan, vol II, Ofcr Structure, 1st update (Apr 1, 1971) (draft dated May 3, 1971), pp 47-48, ACC 86-153, box 1, box 1, 24-2 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

94. For a list of management objectives, see USAF Pers Management Objectives, undated, ACC 86-153, box 1, 24-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

95. Ltr, Exec Sec of the Rated Pers Requirements and Allocations Cmte (Schmidt) to RPRAC Members, subj: Rpt of Rated Pers Requirements and Allocations Cmte Mtg 70-1, Feb 12, 1970, ACC 74-022, box 2, Rated Pers Requirements and Allocations Cmte Rpts folder, RG 341, WNRC. The SP² probably de-

rived its name from being a Simulation and Projection computer program.

96. Paper, subj: Ofcr Grade Legislation in Support of TOPLINE, undated, ACC 86–155, box 7, 94 (1966–1971) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Air Staff board mtg 9–61, subj: The USAF Pers Plan, Dec 17, 1969, ACC 74–0022, box 4, ASB 1969 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

97. Ltr, Exec Sec of the Rated Pers Requirements Allocations Cmte (RPRAC) to RPRAC Members, subj: Rpt of Rated Pers Requirements and Allocations Cmte Mtg 70–1, Feb 12, 1970, ACC 74–0022, box 2, Rated Pers Requirements and Allocations Cmte rpts (70) folder, RG 341, WNRC; Program Review Cmte mtg 70–83, subj: The USAF Pers Plan—Ofcr

Structure, May 21, 1970, ACC 74–0022, box 3, Program Review Cmte rpts 1970, book two folder, RG 341, WNRC.

98. Briefing, subj: vol II, USAF Pers Plan, TOPLINE 81 (1971 Update), undated, ACC 86–155, box 1, 24–2 folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, Actg Chairman of the AF Council (Russell) to AF/CC (Ryan), subj: USAF Pers Plan, Dec 24, 1969, ACC 73A–2171, box 1, folder 7, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Times*, Feb 10, 1971, p 3; Air Staff board mtg 69–61, subj: The USAF Pers Plan, Dec 17, 1969, ACC 74–0022, box 4, ASB 1969 folder, RG 341, WNRC; paper, subj: Def Ofcr Management System (DOMS), undated, ACC 86–155, box 3, 92–4 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

Chapter Eleven

1. Kenneth S. Lynn, ed., *The Professions in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), p 2; Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, pp 8–10. For a general discussion of professionalism in America, see Thomas L. Haskell, ed., *The Authority of Experts: Studies in History and Theory* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), and Randall Collins, *The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification* (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

2. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, pp 11–17. There are, of course, other definitions, but they are in essential agreement with Huntington. For example, the sociologist Bernard Barber defined profession as (1) a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge, (2) a high degree of self-control, (3) primary orientation to the community interest, and (4) a system of rewards that is primarily a set of symbols of work and achievement. See Lynn, *Professions in America*, p 18. Gen Bernard A. Shriever, Commander, ARDC, in arguing that the military

officer is a professional, lists eight attributes of a profession: (1) A history of significant knowledge, (2) standards of entry and continued practice, (3) a large body of specialized knowledge, (4) opportunities for specialization, (5) the ability and resources to produce new knowledge, (6) continual formal education, (7) a strong sense of cohesion, and (8) a strong sense of public service. See “The Professional Ofcr, vol I, Professionalism” (Maxwell AFB: AU, 1964), pp 1–3. This source was a text for Ofcr Education (OE) 400, a senior course in the AFROTC program.

3. Lynn, *Professions in America*, p 132; ltr, PMP–11 (Volkman) to ALMAJCOM, subj: Educational Requirements, attachment 1, Apr 12, 1962, ACC 67A–4678, box 1, Mil 1–5 folder, RG 341, WNRC; “Concepts for AF Leadership,” p 1–96.

4. “Concepts for AF Leadership,” p 1–96; Krongelb, “A Study of ROTC and Non-ROTC Freshmen in a Liberal Arts College,” table XXII, p 30.

5. For a discussion of bureaucracies, see Martin Albrow, *Bureaucracy* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), Franklin D. Margiotta, ed., *The Changing World of*

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the American Military (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), Peter M. Blau and Marshall W. Meyer, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, 1971) and Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Interpersonal Relationships in Two Government Agencies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

6. *AF Times*, Jan 9, 1960 and Apr 15, 1964, p 8; C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p 187; memo, AF/CCV (Twining) to DCS/O (White), untitled, Feb 25, 1952, Twining papers, box 12, Feb read file, LOC; AFR O-2, Aug 25, 1970; *Organizational Charts, HQ USAF, 1947-1984* (AFP 210-5) (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1984); Diary of USAF Organizations, Jan 31, 1968. In addition to the organizations listed, there were 5 separate operating agencies, 7 air material areas, 35 bands, 23 centers, 155 dispensaries and hospitals, 175 AFROTC units, 19 schools, and 2,182 detachments.

7. Chief of Staff's policy book for 1959. The figures of 24,000 message assumes that Jan 1959, during which 2,003 messages were received and dispatched, was an average month. See AF/CC message file, Jan 1959, ACC 69A-2334, RG 341, WNRC. The 36 decision packages on the DCS/O's desk at the same time was related to the author by an officer who had been on the Air Staff at the time.

8. The point about the need for generalists at every level in a bureaucracy is discussed in Roger W. Little, ed., *Handbook of Military Institutions* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971), p 235.

9. Ltr, Dep PDP (Scepansky) to multiple Air Staff agencies, subj: Rpt on Professional Mil Education, Aug 5, 1963, tab G, ACC 67A-5261, box 1, Mil 6-3-1 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

10. AU hist, Jul 1-Dec 31, 1950, vol IV, supporting document 114; Jul 1-Dec 31, 1951, vol II, supporting document 24; Jul 1, 1966-Jun 30, 1967, vol III, p 1; AF Council paper 6/33a, subj: Professional Mil Education, Aug 3, 1965, ACC 69A-6407, box 1, #4 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

11. AU AUOI-H study series no 23, "Statistics, 1946-1966," AF/HSOR 239.044-23.

12. Ibid.

13. AU hist, AUOI-H study series no 17, chap II, p 2.

14. AU catalogue, 1967-68, pp 7-8.

15. AU hist AUOI-H study series no 23.

16. Ofcr Education Study, vol I, Summ, Conclusions, and Recommendations, prepared by the Asst Sec of Def (Manpower), Jul 1966, pp 19-20. Copy furnished by the AU Office of Education. Military-wide in 1966, there were 2,036 ofcrs in intermediate professional schools, including 597 in either interservice schools or those of a military service other than the parent service and 32 in the schools of foreign nations. At the senior level, 858 were in professional schools, including 312 in interservice schools or those of other than the parent service and 19 were in the schools of foreign nations.

17. Rpt of the USAF Mil Education Board on the Professional Education for USAF Ofcrs (Fairchild board), Maxwell AFB, Jan 23-24, 1950, pp 23-24. Copy furnished by the AU historian.

18. Ltr, AUOP to the AWC, ACSC, SOS, and ECI, subj: Professional Mil Education for all Career Line Ofcrs, Jun 16, 1966, paragraph 3, ACC 75-155, box 1, PME folder, RG 341, WNRC. The education boards subsequent to the Fairchild board met in 1956, chaired by Gen Edwin Rawlings, and in 1959, chaired by Gen Thomas Power.

19. Ibid, paragraph 19.

20. Ltr, Chairman of the PME Task Group (Ritchey) to the Chairman of the AF Educational Requirements Board (Pottenger), subj: Second Addendum to the Final Rpt of the Task Group on PME, Dec 6, 1963, ACC 75-155, box 1, PME folder, RG 341, WNRC; *AF Statistical Digest, FY 1965*, table 106, p 201.

21. Hist, AWC: Twentieth Anniversary Command Edition, AU hist AUOI-H study series no 17, undated, pp 1-2, 65-67, and 70.

Chapter Twelve

1. Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington: Dept of the Army, 1954), p 5.

2. Ibid, pp 6-7.

3. Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution* (Novato, Ca: Persidio, 1982), pp 21-22.

4. Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate, *The AAF in World War II*, vol 7, *Services Around the World* (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1983), pp 513-14; Holm, *Women in the Military*, pp 46-47.

5. Holm, *Women in the Military*, p 24; Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, appendix A, table 3, p 767; Craven and Cate, *Services Around the World*, pp 5-14.

6. Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, pp 195-96.

7. Ibid, 191-205; Holm, *Women in the Military*, p 74; summ of CG's conference, Feb 19-20, 1944, AF/HSOR 132.14-6, p 14; ltr, J. J. Owen to AAF/CV (Eaker), Nov 18, 1945, AAG CG file, 1945-1947, RG 18, MMB, NA.

8. Holm, *Women in the Military*, pp 65 and 100; Treadwell, *Women's Army Corps*, appendix A, table 1.

9. Craven and Cate, *Services Around the World*, pp 529-35; William H. Tunner, *Over the Hump* (Washington: Ofc AF Hist, 1985), pp 35-39; untitled and undated staff study, DCS/P 324.5 (WAF), book I, RG 341, MMB, NA; intvw, Lt Gen William H. Tunner, Oct 5-6, 1976, AF/HSOR K239.0512-911, p 33.

10. First Air Board, p 58; memo for C/AS, subj: Manning of the 25,000 Reg AF Ofcr Structure, Dec 6, 1946, AF/HSOR 141.04-13.

11. Memo, Asst AF/CV (McKee) to the AF/CV (Vandenberg), subj: Appearance before the House Subcmte on WAC-WAF legislation, Feb 12, 1948, AF/CC numeric file 1948, box 3301-3400, RG 341, MMB, NA; ltr, SECDEF to Hon Paul Shafer, Apr 27, 1948, ACC 86-142, box 1, AF/SL 1948-57 file, RG 341, WNRC.

12. *AF Times*, Apr 10, 1948, p 3; memo, WAF Dir (MAY) to Col C. F.

Hegy, subj: Women in the USAF, Oct 12, 1950, ACC 61A-1393, box 1, Mil 6 folder, RG 314, WNRC: ltr, SECDEF (Forrestal) to the Honorable Paul W. Shafer, Apr 27, 1948, AL/SL file, AF/HSOR.

13. Memo, Dir of the SECAF Pers Council (Lyon) to AF/CC (Vandenberg), subj: Informal Comments on Certain Items of AF Pers Council Rpt of 16 Dec 1948, Dec 30, 1948, DCS/P 210 (WAF 1948), RG 341, MMB, NA; memo, WAF Dir (MAY) to Col Hegy, subj: Women in the USAF, Oct 18, 1950, ACC 61A-1393, box 1, Mil 6 folder, RG 341, WNRC.

14. MFR, untitled and undated, ACC 61A-1392, box 1, Mil 4-4 (1953) folder, RG 341, WNRC; memo, D/PDP (Parks) to Gen Strother, subj: Retirement of the Dir of the WAF, May 4, 1950, D/PDP 324.5 (WAF), book I, RG 341, MMB, NA; Holm, *Women in the Military*, p 120; memo, Dir of Public Relations (Leo) to the SECAF, subj: Weekly Status Rpt on S. 1641, Title III, Enlistment and Appointment of Women in the Reg AF, Jan 30, 1948, AF/CC numeric files, 2001-2100 (1948), RG 341, MMB, NA.

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Chapter Thirteen

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Glossary

AAF	Army Air Forces
ACSC	Air Command and Staff College
ADC	Air Defense Command
AECP	Airman's Education and Commissioning Program
AFB	Air Force Base
AFIT	Air Force Institute of Technology
AFM	Air Force Manual
AFMPC	Air Force Military Personnel Center
AFR	Air Force Regulation
AFROTC	Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps
AFSC	Air Force Specialty Code
AMC	Air Materiel Command
ANG	Air National Guard
AOC	Air Officers Commanding
ASCRO	Active Service for Career Reserve Officers
ASWAAF	Arms and Services With the Army Air Forces
ATC	Air Training Command
AU	Air University
AU/GWU	Air University/George Washington University
AWC	Air War College
CONAC	Continental Air Command
CPTP	Civilian Pilot Training Program
DCS	Deputy Chief of Staff
DOD	Department of Defense
DOMS	Defense Officer Management System
DOPMA	Defense Officer Personnel Management Act
ECI	Extension Courses Institute
EWO	Electronic Warfare Officer
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FEAF	Far East Air Forces
FIP	Flight Instruction Program
FY	Fiscal Year
GAO	Government Accounting Office
Green Light	Air Force program to improve officer retention in the 1950s
GWU	George Washington University
MATS	Military Air Transport Service
MMB	Modern Military Branch, National Archives
MPC	Military Personnel Center (Air Force Military Personnel Center)

Air Force Officers

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBT	Navigator-Bombardier Training
New View	A mid-1960s study of young Air Force officers that looked at the relationship of working conditions and retention
NROTC	Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps
NSC	National Security Council
NSC-68	A 1950 National Security Council study to review national policy regarding the Soviet Union
OCS	Officer Candidate School
OEP	Officer Education Program
OER	Officer effectiveness report
OGLA	Officer Grade Limitation Act (of 1954), Public Law 83-349
OPA	Officer Personnel Act (of 1947), Public Law 381
OTS	Officer Training School
PAS	Professor of Aerospace Studies
PBN	Primary-Basic Navigation
PL	Public Law
R&D	Research and Development
RG	Record group
RIF	Reduction in Force
RIO	Radar Intercept Officer
ROTC	Reserve Officer Training Corps
SAC	Strategic Air Command
SEA	Southeast Asia
SOS	Squadron Officers School
SP2	Early 1970s computer model of the Air Force officer structure
Stanine	Aptitude score from a battery of tests for aviation students that ranged from one to nine (from standard nine)
TAC	Tactical Air Command
TFX	Tactical Fighter, Experimental
TOPLINE	Acronym based on Total Objective Plan for Line Officers
Top Star	Program to increase retention of Air Force officers in early 1960s
UMT	Universal Military Training
UNT	Undergraduate Navigator Training
UPT	Undergraduate Pilot Training
USAFA	United States Air Force Academy
USNA	United States Naval Academy
WAAC	Women's Army Auxiliary Corps
WAC	Women's Army Corps
WAF	Women in the Air Force
WASP	Women Auxiliary Service Pilots
WAVES	Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service
WNRC	Washington National Record Center

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